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I

CLASSICAL REVIEW

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1909

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE LEARNER'S POINT OF VIEW.

IT is sometimes possible for a looker-on to intervene without excessive presumption in the disputes of experts. In the matter of education, all who are more or less educated must watch the controversies of teachers with acute interest and even some anxiety. We have ourselves been taught; our children, perhaps, are being taught at the present day. In any case the question of effective and useful teaching is one which admittedly concerns the whole nation. It is a matter of common knowledge that the unrest in India and the agitation of the suffragists, to take two only of the burning questions of the day, can be traced to educational causes. Perhaps there is no dispute in which the ordinary citizen need feel less hesitation in intervening than an educational dispute.

Again, the language question is one in which we are all concerned. We have all, more or less, mastered our own rather difficult speech so as to be able to write, read, hear and speak it. The present writer has been compelled, by administrative and other necessities, to learn more languages than the average Briton has any need to learn. He has no pretension to be an exceptionally gifted or skilful linguist. Quite the contrary, as the following candid narrative will plainly show. But he has been forced, with varying success, to acquire several languages of

different types, and it is possible that a full account of his experiences may be of some value. It is offered simply as the contribution of a learner who was compelled to go on learning till past middle-age. It is admittedly difficult to secure the views of learners, nor have these usually much choice in the methods by which they are taught. In my case circumstances compelled me to adopt various methods of learning. I hope I shall not be accused of egotism if I tell my tale frankly and, as far as may be, without prejudice.

I shall assume that it is the object of language-teaching that it shall result in some mastery of the language taught. It is of course possible to take Ste.-Beuve's well known paradox seriously, and to assert that education has no practical end other than discipline; that life is such a bore that it is well that the schoolroom should be dull as a preparation for life-long ennui; that, in a world which teems with disappointment, it is good that a boy or girl should spend several years over a foreign tongue and at the end should know little and forget that little as speedily as possible.

We may argue, too, that Porsons must in any case be few, and that if we succeed in getting one or two Porsons out of hundreds of public school boys, the sacrifice of the remainder is not too great. Personally, I

venture to think that the etymologist or grammarian would be none the worse equipped if he began by being a mere linguist, inasmuch as a working knowledge of colloquial English is no impediment to the subsequent scientific study of the language. I shall also venture to assume that a colloquial knowledge of the so-called 'dead' languages is not impossible. Latin and Greek are not dead but sleeping, and they have only to be spoken to awake to life once more. We have the precedent of Sanscrit in India, where it is successfully spoken in schools, colleges and learned societies. Persian and Arabic are 'alive' in purely Mussulman countries, but are 'dead' in India. Yet they can be and are taught orally in Indian schools. As for Latin and Greek—but I must not forget that I am writing for readers more learned than myself.

Let me proceed to the tale of my personal adventures. If it is permissible for a traveller in foreign lands to relate his experiences without offence, an explorer in foreign tongues may perhaps claim the same immunity. I was at Rugby from 1867 to 1872. I went through the usual Classical grind, but when I was promoted to the Upper School I was called upon to choose between Modern Languages and 'Science,' which was then a somewhat fashionable novelty. I do not in the least regret that I spent some part of my time in Museum and Laboratory. But I had to abandon French (of which I had some elementary knowledge) and German (of which I knew next to nothing). It happened that during my holidays I had opportunities of hearing French spoken, and good French books were thrown in my way. Hence I conceived the ambition of becoming a candidate for the school French prize. I had to secure the permission of my house-master, who was also one of the Modern Language masters. He objected, very properly, that I could not know much French, but I persevered, with an audacity which now somewhat surprises me, and I not only got permission but captured that French prize. I had unconsciously (the phrase was not yet invented) been following the 'direct method.'

I had heard and talked French in the holidays. This encouraged me to read rather widely. My knowledge of formal grammar was defective, but I answered the questions put to me in French (of a sort). I have no doubt I used *tout* adverbially without doubt or hesitation. I do not think I could have answered the question recently set at an examination—'Give the various adverbial uses of *tout*.' This experience may have been of use to me later on. In Classics I was just the ordinary sixth-form boy. I could write Latin prose and verse well enough to be occasionally 'sent up for good' to the Doctor; my Greek prose and verse were not nearly so good. I could do unseens in both languages fairly well, and, as a result, on French, Classics, Science and English subjects I managed to scrape my way into the Indian Civil Service in 1873. Then I had to undergo two years of probation in London, during which I had to learn, amongst other things, one Indian language, which, in my case, happened to be Hindustani. I learned it with a coach in the usual Classical way, as if it were a 'dead' language. I just managed to satisfy the examiner. I could construe an easy piece of prose—with difficulty. I could write a piece of Hindustani in which the words were Hindustani words, though the syntax was painfully Britannic. I could not speak Hindustani, or understand it when it was spoken to me. I relied on the dictionary and grammar.

Then I was sent to Bengal and, as luck would have it, was placed in independent charge of a large 'subdivision' containing some half million of Bengali souls, before I had acquired more than the barest smattering of Bengali idiom and had hardly mastered the written character. I heard Bengali, and nothing but Bengali, spoken from morning to night. I had to make a rough English translation of the depositions of hundreds of Bengali witnesses. I had to listen to the eloquent speeches of Bengali advocates. I had to talk the language so as to be understood. In quite a short time I found myself counting the stamps and coin in my little treasury in Bengali.

It was after some two years of this experience that I took to the study of Bengali

literature. I can still remember the acute satisfaction I experienced at recognising, in the new script and spelling, words which were familiar to my ear. 'Aha,' I said, 'that's how they spell such and such a word, is it?' And since the Bengali character, like its mother Sanscrit, is more or less phonetic, I was able to check my British ear and improve my pronunciation. The standard dialect in print gave me a new and delightful comprehension of local vagaries of pronunciation. I made very rapid progress. But, above all, I *remembered* what I learned. You cannot forget a language learned by eye, ear and tongue. It becomes, as it were, a second native language. If you have not all a native's proficiency, what you do know, you know thoroughly and naturally. You make up your own grammar as you go along, and when you come to the formal study of grammar, you use it to verify or correct impressions already strongly made on your memory. Grammar, then, is no longer dry but delightful.

So far, there is nothing exceptional in my tale. It merely relates what has been the experience of hundreds of Englishmen in India. Bengali is an Indo-European tongue not differing very widely in syntax from our own, and abounding with roots familiar to every public school boy. Anyone can see at first sight that *pītā* is 'father,' *mātā* 'mother,' *bhrātā* 'brother,' and so on. The system of counting is the same, since we seem to have borrowed our decimal system from India. Negatives are expressed by nasal sounds as with us. The prepositions are all but identical with those of Latin and Greek. It was like learning French after learning Latin.

After this, however, I had the good fortune to be sent amongst the genial semi-savage folk of the North-Eastern frontier. I came into contact with tribes who spoke rude but expressive Indo-Chinese languages the words and idioms of which were not in the least like anything I had heard before. There was no written character. There were, of course, no books, grammars, dictionaries. There were no teachers. My semi-savage friends had no notion of teaching and no desire whatever to teach. Yet I could be of no use to them unless I learned their speech.

I began in the usual way, by preparing vocabularies. It was easy enough to prepare a list of nouns. You had only to point at objects and mutely or verbally ask their names. Verbs, too, in their simplest form, one could obtain after a time. But adjectives and adverbs presented a curious difficulty. Sometimes one met a bilingual native who could talk the Indo-European Assamese as well as his native tongue. You could give him an Assamese adjective and ask for a translation. But the result was disappointing. Very often he gave you back Assamese for Assamese, and you were driven to imagine that his simple mind could not translate into his native speech. That was not the case, however. I had unconsciously run up against the 'agglutinative' verb, a singularly interesting and expressive device when idiomatically and skilfully used. No savage could possibly explain its use to you. Once learned, however, it is easily explained by an European. It is something like this. Take the root *thāng* = 'go.' *Thāng-bai* is 'did go.' *Thāng-ā-bai* is 'did not go.' *Thāng-ā-hūi-bai* is 'did not go from a distance.' *Thāng-ā-hūi-thi-bai* is 'did not pretend to go from a distance.' *Thāng-ā-hūi-thi-slai-bai* is 'did not mutually pretend to go from a distance.' *Thāng-ā-hūi-thi-slai-zap-bai* is 'did not finish mutually pretending to go from a distance.' And so on. The little particles *ā*, *hūi*, *thi*, *slai*, *zap* are what philologists call 'infixes.' They have no separate existence. No savage would dream of using them separately, or of thinking of them separately, or of regarding them as words at all, or, least of all, of translating them. They are not words that have a meaning, they are modifiers of words, if the phrase may be allowed. Instead of a made-up verb like the one given above, let me cite two actual specimens from living speech. *Nu-zā-hūi-nai-sūi-la* means 'go from a distance and take and see and observe carefully,' or something to that effect. Again, *bi-khō hom-lāng-fop-din-fai-naise* means 'they took him, and carried him, and buried him, and left him there, and came away.' (*Bi-khō* is the accusative of the pronoun, and *-naise* is the inflexion.) In this case, the 'agglutination' is of a different type, all the 'infixes' being verbal roots. But, so used, they are,

to a native, not words, but 'modifiers,' as it were.

The device is a simple one, it will be seen. It is familiar enough to learners of Indo-Chinese languages. But it was new to me, and I had no one to explain. But, as luck would have it, I met a born story-teller, possessed of a large collection of both Indian and Indo-Chinese folk-lore. His tales were not without some primitive satiric humour. I have often Englished them to my own nursery with great applause from my own little savages. My fabulist Samson became my teacher in the sense that I employed him to tell me his stories over and over again. I listened as a child listens to his mother, and at each telling a new joy of comprehension came to me. I can hardly describe without exaggeration the excitement and pleasure that arose from suddenly mastering the secret of the 'agglutinative' verb. It can hardly be called an intellectual pleasure. It was like suddenly acquiring the knack of learning to skate, or swim, or bicycle. Like these, too, once learned it was learned for ever. After twenty years of disuse, I can remember the homely Bodo stories Samson told me as I can remember nothing else. They stick firmly in a memory by no means retentive, so that, not long ago, I was able to compile an elaborate account and systematic list of Bodo infixes for Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. I imagine that my account has some interest for comparative philologists and grammarians, but I am heartily glad that I had no such help in the acquisition of the language. For (and this is what makes my tale worth telling) I found the story-telling method not only an efficient but a rapid way of learning languages, and that at an age when the power of acquisition is diminished even in the case of far better linguists than I can claim to be. The secret was simply in listening like a child, learning with the ear, and talking without false shame. I have essayed other Indo-Chinese (or rather Tibeto-Burmese and Kuki-Chin) languages, but, for want of a story-teller, have had to stop far short of my wishes, not because the languages were more difficult, but because a continuous narrative was lacking to exercise my ear and

engage my interest. Others, better linguists, surmounted difficulties which stopped me. But it is only justice to say that the best teacher I ever had was a semi-savage being who liked telling stories and told them with admirable enjoyment, emphasis and visible humour. I have written down and printed these stories in a simple phonetic script for the benefit of my successors. But no written narrative can take the place of living speech. It, and formal grammar, should follow some mastery of audible language. The pupil should use his aural memory, and the memory which goes with the actual practice of speech. The memory of the eye is a different thing, a useful adjunct to the others, but, for many minds, not sufficient by itself.

Perhaps it is not necessary to point the moral of my ingenuous tale of personal experiences. But I am a father of many boys and spend all I can afford in having them taught Latin and Greek. One of them shows some promise of being an Oxford Greats man, a Classical scholar of the orthodox type. The others, so far as I can judge, seem to be of the ordinary kind of British youth. It is only natural, perhaps, that their anxious parent should ask himself whether they might not learn Latin and Greek in some such fashion as that which proved so useful to himself in India. A great language and literature is not to be mastered, doubtless, in the same fashion as a simple savage dialect. But it might at least be learned in the same way and to something like the same extent as our native language. There are many boys who read English greedily who would probably read Latin, Greek, French, and German if they learned these languages as they learn English. The other day I found one of my small sons struggling with Caesar's *Commentaries* in the usual preparatory school way of a paragraph a day. I tried the experiment of reading a larger quantity with him, rapidly and 'for the story.' He was delighted: he had had no idea that 'Caesar' was so interesting: he realised that he was reading the personal account of a real soldier's campaigns. His master complains that this boy 'knows no grammar.' He makes mistakes in declensions and conjugation. He is inattentive.

He is expected to 'attend' to one of the weariest and dreariest of studies. Yet he loves reading, and knows his Scott and Dickens (especially Dickens) far better than I do. He has just been reading *Barnaby Rudge*, and this has led him to take an interest in Lord Chesterfield and his period, including even the reformation of the calendar. But he is probably as ignorant of formal English grammar as he is of formal Latin grammar. He misses something, no doubt. But suppose he were not allowed to read *Barnaby Rudge* till he could answer 'catchy' questions in English grammar! Another of my boys got a very early grounding in Latin grammar and 'Latin Arnold.' He does his 'prep' most carefully with grammar and dictionary. But he never does a word more than the prescribed task. He never reads for his own pleasure or information, either in Latin or English. As for reading French or Greek 'for fun,' the idea has only to be suggested to be greeted with boyish incredulity and laughter. He is nearly seventeen, and has never learned the joy of reading, has never realised that printed books are only stories written down for convenience. I venture to think that in his case print has come to be associated with 'lessons,' and that lessons have never been a pleasure to him. He has never, apparently, had the satisfaction of feeling that he has acquired a new art. Is not a language primarily an art, to be acquired by practice, by hearing, speaking and ultimately writing, as a musician learns music? It is more also. But do we not begin wrongly with the 'more also'? Do we not teach the rules which grammarians make out of a language before we have taught the language itself? Making up a grammar after you know a language is very interesting and amusing. But as a means of learning a language it is neither easy, amusing, nor profitable for many minds.

The proof, as it seems to me, is in the extraordinary facility with which average public school boys and B.A.'s forget so much of the Classics as they absorb. A larger use of the oral system means more work, and more exhausting work, for the already heavily tasked master, no doubt. But

the thing can be done, and has been done, and the result seems to be a linguistic proficiency which in suitable cases can be converted into scholarship, and even in the case of ordinary youths yields somewhat. Translation is not required so much as the use of the language itself, its oral use, in the manner now made familiar by practitioners of the 'direct method.' Mme. de Sévigné could say with conviction, 'qu'on est heureux d'aimer à lire!' Yes, but Mme. de Sévigné could not have written her charming letters if she had not been one of the most delightful of talkers, a listener as well as a talker. For her, reading was a kind of conversation. It is a significant fact, surely, that the average English lad is a poor converser, shamefaced, shy, and self-conscious. Might not this fault be remedied by more oral instruction, by the conversation of the class-room? Mere learning by rote is not enough. There must be improvisation, and ultimately the power of thinking in a foreign tongue, probably a less difficult feat than grammarians suppose, since orally acquired idiom is rapidly assimilated.

Nor let it be supposed that orally acquired languages will be confused with one another. I know a young lieutenant of Sappers who believes that he is 'rather a duffer at languages.' When he was a small boy of six he could talk fluently in English, Assamese, Kachari and Hindustani, had excellent idiomatic command of each, and could pronounce them with a purity which was the envy of his elders. He had, at that stage, practically four native languages, being in the midst of grown-up people who spoke one or other of all four. He may yet find that experience useful if he goes to India, in the involuntary training and suppleness of his vocal chords. But at present he imagines he is no linguist because he prefers mathematics to grammar, neither of which have much to do with linguistics properly so-called.

Among the young recruits for the Civil Service who have just gone to India was one who barely qualified in his obligatory language. Yet he did the best English essay of his year. The Modern Language people know that a pupil who writes English well has an instinctive appreciation of style (which,

after all, is idiom of a sort) in French and German and Italian. But this young essayist was floored (or bored) by grammar and an unfamiliar and crabbed character. Neither character nor grammar would have troubled him if he had learned oral idiom first.

I have been told that Prof. Vambéry, master of many languages dead and living, uses some form of the 'direct method,' the natural and maternal method, in his own practice. He can remember words and constructions because he listens to them, and shuts himself up in a room and *shouts* them. He uses his oral and aural memory to supplement his ocular memory. No doubt we all do this even when we read to ourselves. We *imagine* the sound of the words as we read, as a musician silently reads a written score. But in the case of a foreign language we are apt to let the sounds approximate to those of our native tongue, unless we practise them aloud and have often heard them. We are also liable to fall into unconscious translation. Hence the benefit of a conversational method, at all events at the beginning. Once a fair grasp of idiom has been obtained, the risk of translating grows daily less, especially if true 'composition' be practised and not attempts at the infinitely difficult art of rendering ready-made phrases into another language. The old-fashioned system suits some boys, but they are the boys who would learn under almost any system. The average boy is often unable to tackle a language no more difficult than his native tongue, because he is expected to learn it in a way which would be thought absurd in the elementary teaching of his own language. There are parents who would be grieved if Latin and Greek were to drop out of the curriculum, not because they regard these as a stern and necessary discipline in inevitable boredom, but because they believe that Latin and Greek, and other languages too, can be taught in school time if formal grammar is not too much insisted upon. Comparative grammar at the end of a univer-

sity course might well be a delightful and stimulating study to young men who are already possessed of two or three languages. Most seniors like etymology and grammar, and are apt to believe that it was through these that they learned language. In most cases, it was through language that they learned etymology and grammar. For elementary students surely language itself is the best basis for subsequent study. Why begin with philology instead of humbly teaching language as an art to be practised audibly as well as in the more artificial and derivative way of a written record, that bane of modern memories?

I feel that I owe some apology to any professional teachers of youth who may do me the honour to read this scrap of linguistic autobiography. I have no desire to diminish the '*angustae pia munera disciplinae*,' or to plead for an easier way of learning, merely because it is easier. For teachers, it is probably harder, if more stimulating, interesting and fruitful. I can imagine the twinkle in Samson's eye if he could guess that I am holding him up for an example to European teachers of youth. He is quite capable of grasping the humour of the situation. But Samson succeeded with a by no means apt pupil, and it seems to be admitted that Latin and Greek are not only becoming crowded out but, in the case of average boys, are not successfully learnt even after years of tuition. Might not the 'direct method' be given a trial on a larger scale? It is natural, speedy, and interesting, as anyone will admit who has seen an oral lesson in Latin delivered by a master who believes in the system. It is not even a novelty, since Montaigne and his contemporaries learned to read Latin with ease and fluency by treating it as a living language. It is only dead, if you kill it and serve it up for dissection by way of grammatical analysis. The artist should know anatomy, but he copies from living models. And, once more, is not language an art?

J. D. A.

PERTA OF LYCAONIA.

INSCRIPTION found in 1907 at Kotchash, a small village on the north side of Boz Dag, about 10 hrs. North of Konia. Also copied in 1908 by Sir W. M. Ramsay. A round pillar.

ΘΕΙΑΠΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΦΙΛΟ Μ^ς
ΠΑΡΑΤΩΝΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤ^ς
ΗΜΩΝΔΕΣΠΤΑΙΑΚΑΛΛΙ
ΝΙΚΗΤΕΞΕΝΔΟΞ^ςΑΠΟΝΠΑΤ
ΙΟΙCΤΗΝΠΕΡΤΕΩΝΟΙΚΕCΙ
ΠΟΛΙΝ

+

θεία προνομία φιλο[τι]μ(ηθέντα)
παρὰ τῶν θεοφυλάκ(ων)
ἡμῶν δεσπ(οτῶνδύο) διὰ Καλλι-
νίκου τοῦ ἐνδόξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ὑπάτ[ων]
τ]οῦς τῇν Περτέων οἰκοῦσι
πόλιν¹

The date of this inscription remains uncertain, unless Callinicus can be identified. As Callinicus had been consul, the date cannot be later than the middle of the sixth century. *θεοφύλακτος δεσπότης* is applied to Emperors from about 610 A.D. onwards for several centuries (according to the Index of C.I.G.). The form of letters affords no safe criterion of date in late Roman and Byzantine times.

The nature of the monument is also uncertain. It has most analogy to a boundary stone. It might be a milestone if there were any distance stated on it; but in Byzantine time milestones were rare. It perhaps marked an important point on the road without recording the distance from a *caput viae*.

The important fact about the inscription is that it furnishes evidence to place the city of Perta (a bishopric in Christian time) in this neighbourhood. Sir W. M. Ramsay has placed Psibêla or Pegella (the latter form is used in the Peutinger Table, the former in Byzantine documents) at Suwarek, and pointed out that an important Roman road marked by many milestones ran from

Laodiceia of Lycaonia through Pegella, passing beside this inscription, to Savatra, Canna, Hyde, the Cilician Gates and Syria. Now on a road in the Table we find the stations

Pegella xx Congussa xv Petra xx Ubinnaca.

It is, therefore, now established conclusively that Petra of the Table is an error for Perta, and that Perta was situated on this Roman road between Pegella and Savatra. The name Savatra is misplaced in the Table; but its situation on the road has been assured by inscriptions. So also has the site of Canna; and Sir W. M. Ramsay has conjectured that Ubinnaca is an error for Uden Cana. See his paper on Lycaonia in the *Oesterreich. Jahreshefte*, vii. 57-132 (*Beiblatt*), where also it is assumed that, as is now certain, Petra of the Table is meant for Perta. The numbers in the Table are not reconcilable with the actual distances.

T. CALLANDER.

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Professor T. Callander communicated the above inscription to me in 1907, and in the summer of 1908 I revisited the district in order to fix the exact site of Perta. Kotchash, where the stone was found, is not the site of an ancient city, but only of a village; and I came to the conclusion that the modern village Geimir, about five miles south-east, is the site of Perta. The ruins there are extensive, and mark an ancient city. In 1907 and in 1908 neither Professor Callander nor I found any inscription there, only Christian carved stones uninscribed. But in 1905 I copied several inscriptions on the site, and one of these proved that it was an important place in Roman times. This was a fragment of the architrave of a temple or other public building, with part of the dedication to an Emperor of the second century in very large fine letters:

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΑΙ
ΠΡΟΒΟΥ

The letters of the second line were mutilated, and only the upper part remained, but all are certain except B (which might be read P).

¹Confirmed by R. almost exactly, except in l. 5, where he read IOIC, while I read KOIC.

The restoration is uncertain. One might conjecture :

[ὕπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Π. Αἰλίου Τραι-
ανοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ αἰ[ωνίου διαμονῆς
. . . . οἱ] πρόβου[λοι οἱ κατὰ τὸ] προβού[λευμα.

It is not probable that the correct order of the imperial names was violated by placing Αἰ[λίου] after Ἀδριανός in the title either of Hadrian or of Pius.

I know of nothing analogous to the last words. The terms πρόβουλοι and προβούλευμα are almost confined to Athens, except that Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses them to render the Latin words *consules* and *senatus consultum*, and Plutarch uses the former in that sense. It is therefore possible that κατὰ προβούλευμα was used at Perta to translate the Latin *senatus consulto*. But in a Galatian city, in an imperial province, one does not expect to find any reference to a decree of the Roman Senate.

On a subsequent journey I visited Obruk in order to see the famous circular lake in a deep hole. As two archaeologists have been at Obruk in modern times, both interested in epigraphy, and neither found any inscriptions, I had no expectation of discovering any. But to my astonishment the fine old Seljuk Khan and the cemetery are both full of inscriptions, including six Roman milestones, and a second copy of Professor Callander's inscription. The latter differs only in one or two slight details; notably, it gives the word φιλοτιμηθέντα in full.

The sense in earlier Greek and Graeco-Roman usage would be that the stones on which the inscriptions are engraved were φιλοτιμηθέντα διὰ Καλλινίκου, 'set up in the career of public service by Callinicus.'¹ He modestly attributes the action to the Emperors, and mentions himself only as their agent. This makes one at first think of boundary stones; but Obruk seems to be the site of an independent city, and not a mere village dependent on Perta. Now if this stone marked a boundary, it would be necessary to take Obruk as a village near the frontier of the land of the city Perta. It seems, on the whole, most probable that Professor

¹ If we can assume that ἐφιλοτιμήθην could be used in a passive sense in that period.

Callander's suggestion is right, and that the stones mark the roads at important points.

But I prefer to take the inscription as comparatively late (perhaps late fifth or early sixth century); and to see here the common sense in Byzantine times of φιλοτιμέομαι, 'give as a compliment' (construction, two accusatives, or accusative and dative). The aorist ἐφιλοτιμήθην is usually active; but Stephanus quotes Georg. Mon. 809: φιλοτιμηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως νόμισματα ἔκατον, 'having been granted by the king 100 nummi.' The passive use also occurs in Theophilus Antecessor: *prooem.*¹

νίκαις ἄνωθεν φιλοτιμηθείσαις ²
'victories granted from heaven.'

Callinicus, as Professor Seeck and Professor Dessau inform me, is unknown. He was evidently governor of a Province, who placed these stones by orders of two emperors. The only Provinces which can be thought of are Pisidia if the inscription be older than 372, and Lycaonia if it be later. Perta was certainly in Lycaonia from the institution of that Province about 371-2. The sense of φιλοτιμηθέντα (if I rightly take it according to Byzantine usage) and the style of letters (which is not dissimilar to the inscription of Epinicus³ in the end of the fifth century, though less ornate), point to a later date than 372. Now Callinicus was a consular, and Lycaonia was governed by a simple *praeses* in *Notitia. Dignit. Or.* in the beginning of the fifth century, but by a consular in the list of Hierocles, about A.D. 530. The period therefore, as seems fairly certain, was not very far removed from A.D. 500.

One of the Roman milestones at Obruk is inscribed VII, probably the distance from Perta (if we suppose that the stone has been brought to the cemetery from a point on the road about a mile towards that city). Another is marked ΚΔ, which is rather difficult to explain. The only important point which

² In the edition which lies before me (*apud Guil. Laemariuin*: 1587) the text printed is φιλοτιμηθείσαις, but the correction seems necessary, and is assumed in the Latin translation.

³ Published by Mommsen in *Hermes* xxxii p. 660, and included in part in his *Gesammelte Schriften* by O. Hirschfeld, *Histor.* i p. 560.

is near xxiv miles from Obruk is Suwarek-Psibéla; and the road from the one town to the other does not form a part of any main route. We must suppose that at Obruk the town put up milestones indicating the distance from all the cities around. On the other milestones the numbers are indecipherable.

As to the name of the city at Obruk, that is a matter of complete uncertainty. It stands near, but not actually on, the direct road from Iconium to Archelais. Possibly

it may be Congoustos, understanding that the name has been slightly misplaced on the Table, or rather that the enumerator of the stations, instead of going along the direct road Pegella-Perta, went a circuit through Obruk; but the numbers would have to be corrected in that case to

Pegella xxv Congustos ix Perta.

W. M. RAMSAY.

Aberdeen.

ON VIRGIL, *ECLOGUES*, ix. 17.

Heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus?

EURIPIDES in his plays seems to have compensated for his many modernisms by a plentiful use of Homeric forms. In a like spirit Virgil seems to have sprinkled the artificial language which he puts into his shepherds' mouths with uses which may be called either colloquial or archaic, since the one is in most languages often the other. We know that the town wits laughed at one instance of this habit.

'Dic mihi, Damoeta: "cuium pecus" anne Latinum?'

In iii. 102, Donatus seems to have taken *his* as a nominative, a use extinct in polite Latin, but doubtless still common on rustic lips. Conington, even with *cuium* in the same Eclogue, accounted this interpretation 'a very hazardous hypothesis,' and Mr. Page regards the archaism as too startling to be true; but neither authority seems to have taken cognizance of the indirect support which Donatus gets from other passages in the *Eclogues*. Nor is it easy to make good sense of the line on any other supposition, except indeed the desperate remedy of reading *hi* for *his*. It may be observed that no interpretation gives a good sense to *certe*, and for *his certe* we should perhaps read *hisce autem*. The change is in any case very small, and perhaps the less that, as Pompeii shows, there were scripts in which it was not easy to distinguish *a* and *r*. Of course *hisce* is nominative. To return to our colloquialisms. We know the free way in which the comedians interchange

do and *facio*. Thus *me dubiam dant* means 'make me doubtful,' and *huic ego die nomen Trinummo feci* means 'I have given to-day the name of Half-a-Crown.' In i. 6, *nobis haec otia fecit* seems to mean 'has given us this ease,' and in i. 18 the use of *da nobis* as 'tell us' is probably a colloquialism which descends from Plautine days. In ii. 14 the use of *satius* as 'better,' though not unknown to classical prose, belongs in the main to the spoken tongue. With this we may class *qui* in a sense akin to *qualis*, ii. 19; *fero* in the sense of carry away, v. 34 and ix. 51; and perhaps *poteras* in i. 79, and *hodie* in iii. 49. In the last even Conington finds 'a sort of comic pleonasm' despite its use in *Aen.* ii. 670. More decisive is the interrogative *nam* in ix. 39, with which we may place *reponas*, a subjunctive in a direct command, iii. 54. The use of *mitto* in the sense of 'make a present,' iii. 71 and ix. 6, misled Conington, who says on the latter passage '*mittimus* is used seemingly because Moeris, though carrying the kids himself, speaks for his master, who is the sender of the present.' No doubt Moeris speaks as servants usually do, and says 'we are making him a present,' meaning that the present is made by his master, as in the former passage Menalcas carried the apples himself to his Amyntas. This sense of *mitto* is found in Terence, e.g. *Phor.* 50, *puer causa erit mittundi*, and reappears in silver Latin, e.g. *Juv.* iii. 45, *quae mittit*. In Terence the slave would probably

take his own present. Other passages in the *Eclogues* which savour of colloquial use are iv. 11, *decus hoc aevi*; vi. 26, *aliud mercedis*; and perhaps the infinitive after *oro* in ii. 43. It would also seem that there is as much suggestion of common speech as of Homeric use in such scansion as *Hylā omne*, vi. 44; *valē inquit*, iii. 79; *ō Alexi*, iii. 65; and certainly *quī amant*, viii. 109. We may probably add *enim*, i. 31, deleting the comma which editors print after *namque*, and certainly the Plautine emphasism of *modo*, viii. 80. Perhaps *quid si*, v. 9, an expression of the comedians, belonged also to the polite speech of Virgil's days, nor would it do to press the simple negative sense of *nec*, ix. 6 and x. 46, since this may have been an archaism of prayer. It is not so in ii. 40, where *nec* is no more than *non*, and the comma usually printed after *duo* is false. It will be seen that hardly one of these instances occurs where Virgil himself is speaking. They belong to the diction of his shepherds and his rustic gods.

The passage quoted at the head of this article seems to have been taken by commentators to mean 'can anyone be guilty of such wickedness?' In that case *scelus* has its usual meaning, *quemquam* refers to the oppressor, and *cadit in* means, as Mr. Page says, 'refers to.' But *cadit in* should perhaps rather mean 'is in accord with' or 'fits,' and though this meaning allows a sense to the passage, it is not a very good one in the context. Now, in the comedians, *scelus*

passes from the meaning of 'wickedness' into that of 'a piece of mischief,' and hence to a sense which can hardly be distinguished from 'misfortune.' *Quid hoc est scelus?* says Chaerea in Terence, *Eun.* 326, meaning that fortune has treated him badly, and so in Plautus, *Capt.* 762, Hegio lamenting the loss of his sons says *Quod hoc est scelus*, where Dr. Lindsay translates 'What a piece of ill-luck is this!' He notes that *scelus* 'seems often to have this sense of misfortune arising from guilt,' but it may be observed that in neither case is the guilt that of the person who suffers the misfortune, and this is true also of the *infandum scelus*, 'unutterable misfortune,' of which Martial writes, vii. 14. Thus in our passage it seems right to take *quemquam* not of the oppressor but of the oppressed. 'No one,' says Lycidas, 'can deserve such a misfortune, certainly not such an excellent singer as you.' If we could accept Conington's note we might render 'Can such a misfortune befall anyone?' But he seems inaccurate in saying that '*cadere* seems to be used in the sense of "is the lot of," . . . so that *suspicio cadit in aliquem* is little more than equivalent to *cadit aliquis in suspicionem*.' The right meaning of the phrase gives an excellent sense in our passage, and the context shows that Lycidas is more likely to have dwelt on the misfortune which had befallen his friend than on the guilt of the man who had brought it about.

JOHN SARGEAUNT.

NOTES

TWO NOTES ON AESCHYLUS.

1. *Agam.* 1146-1149:

KA. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόνον ἀηδόνας
περίβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας
θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ
ἔμοι δὲ μῖμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.

κλαυμάτων ἄτερ presents a difficulty. The Chorus remark that Cassandra sings a sad song like the nightingale, 'bewailing Itys

all her sorrow-laden life'; whereupon she seems to reply that the nightingale (that very personification of grief) lives a life 'without lament.' It is suggested that she means 'without real sorrow'; but κλαῦματα, which primarily means the sound of grief, not the feeling, seems hardly an appropriate word to denote the feeling as distinct from the sound. May not the difficulty arise from the meaning of ἄτερ? I would suggest

that it means not 'without,' but '*apart from*.' The lines then translate:

'Ah me! the doom of clear-voiced Philomel!
To her the gods have vouchsafed feathered form;
And, save for her weeping, happy days: for me
There waiteth rending by the two-edged sword.'

Cassandra thus does not contradict the Chorus, but corrects them merely.

The sense would be made clearer by reading *κλανμάτων γ' ἄτερ*; and *γ'* may well have dropped out after the final *ν* of *κλανμάτων*.

2. *Pers.* 274-277:

XO. ὁτοτοτοί, φίλων
ἀλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῇ
καθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσιν.

No extant explanation of the last line is satisfactory, or even possible; while such proposed corrections as *πλαγαῖσιν διπλάκεσσιν* and *πλαγκτοῖς* (s. *πλαγκτῶν*) ἐν *σπιλάδεσσιν* seem rather pointless, and unduly remote from the reading of the MSS. I venture to think, however, that these objections do not apply to the suggestion

πλαγκτοῖς εἰνὶ πλάκεσσιν,

which is literally very close to the MS. reading, and yields a sense which seems not unworthy of Aeschylus. The words are taken with *φέρεσθαι*, '*are borne in the wandering plains*,' an expression very similar (as Mr. Arthur Sidgwick kindly reminds me) to Tennyson's 'Drops in his vast and wandering grave.' The occurrence of *εἰνὶ* is natural in a play which is exceptionally rich in Epic forms, particularly in juxtaposition with another of such forms; while the meaning of *πλάξ* is supported by Pindar's *πόντου πλάξ*, and (probably) line 953 of the *Persae* itself; cf. also the use of *aequor* for a tract of land or of sea.

πλαγκτοῖς εἰνὶ πλάκεσσιν was first proposed by Tournier (apparently following Halm's suggestion of *ἀμφὶ πλάκεσσιν*), a fact which I only discovered after the emendation had occurred to me independently. My excuse for drawing attention to it in the *Classical Review* is that it does not seem to have found its way into the editions of the *Persae* which are generally accessible, at least to schoolmasters and their charges.

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AESCHYLUS, *AGAMEMNON*,

LINE 194 (204, VERRALL).

πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μοιλοῦσαι
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,
νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδέις, . . .
. . . κατέξαινον ἄνθος Ἄργους.

The words *βροτῶν ἄλαι* are usually interpreted in one of two ways: (α) ἄλη is said to mean mental distraction, and connected with *ἀλόμαι*, to wander; or (β) it is connected with *ἀλέω*, to grind, and is rendered 'tribulation.' Both these explanations are, as Dr. Verrall says, highly artificial. The suggestion of error or wandering is extremely inappropriate in the context, whether it mean a literal wandering in search of food or a metaphorical wandering in their minds, 'madness,' for the whole point of the passage is that the Greeks were kept stationary; while the rendering 'tribulation' involves rather a grotesque mixture of ideas, the idea of 'grinding' being hardly suitable to that of 'wind.'

I therefore suggest that instead of ἄλαι the true reading is ἄλαῖ (from *ἔλω*, *ἔ-άλην*, *ἄλεις*). The literal translation would then be 'cooping up of men,' i.e. preventing the Greeks from making any movement. This idea seems to fit in well with the general sense of the passage, and is free from the verbal inconsistencies which appear to mar the other interpretations. On the philological point of the formation of the word, cp. *παγή*: *ἐπάγην*: *πήγνυμι*.

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AN EMENDATION IN SENECA.

THE Editor informs me that my note in the November number of the *C.R.* (p. 216 f.) has met with criticism, though he has not told me the name of my critic. In reply I desire firstly to plead guilty to having slightly overstated my case in regard to the use of *in dies*. I had forgotten, or never clearly realized, that this phrase is occasionally used

where there is no comparative or verb of increasing or decreasing: my critic quotes Sallust, *Jug.* 44. 5, *panem in dies mercari* (where, however, *in dies* stands for *in diem*; he ought rather to have quoted ch. 74. 1), Livy, xxxvi. 17. 14, *in dies expectatur*, Suet. *Otho* 5, *in dies reportabat*. This usage, however, is surely very rare. And I cannot agree with my critic when he says that Madvig's explanation of the reading *eius* is 'most indubitably right.' I still prefer the emendation *peius*, even though a comparative is not absolutely demanded. Secondly, I thought I had made it quite clear that I do not claim the emendation as my property: when I made it I thought it was original; for the editions which I had consulted had *eius*. But I found out afterwards from Madvig that it was a reading accepted in his day by several editors, and I quoted his words ('scribitur nunc e *P*' 'Quaerendum est quod

non fiat in dies peius'''); I also ended up by calling *peius* 'an old emendation.' Thirdly, my critic can hardly deny that I have contributed something in correction of Madvig's statement that *peius* is the reading of the MS. called *P*.—I do not regard my note as a matter of any importance; but I thought readers of the *C.R.* might be interested in the history of an emendation which was apparently made for the first time by a later hand in the MS. *P*, and which after being accepted by many editors, has disappeared from the latest critical edition of Seneca (that of Hense), leaving no trace behind even in his critical apparatus; but which has been made again independently by at least one reader within the present year. So great is its vitality!

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

November 20th, 1908.

REVIEWS

THE *EUMENIDES* OF FRIEDRICH BLASS.

Die Eumeniden des Aischylos. Erklärende Ausgabe von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907 [published under the supervision of F. Bechtel]. 8vo. Pp. 179. 5 mark.

THE late Professor Blass, at his lamented death, left, partly in print and complete in MS., an edition of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, with an introduction and explanatory notes in German. All those interested in the subject will desire to consult such an authority for themselves, and will need neither an estimate nor a secondary account. It may perhaps however be useful to give a list of places which have caught my attention on a first perusal. The few remarks which I shall add are also to be taken merely as first impressions, and subject to the general statement that the book, of course and by the name of the writer, will require most careful attention.

The following are some of the points

which are noticeable in the formation of the text (numbers of Wecklein):

20. *τούτους ἐν εὔχαις φροιμάζομαι θεούς* is placed (with Weil) immediately before 27, *Πλείστον τε . . .*, and in 21 *εὐλόγως* (Hermann) is accepted for *ἐν λόγοις*.

30. *τυχεῖν μοι* (for *με* M, which the critical note does not mention, but see commentary; the critical notes are imperfect, and must be used with caution).

64. Speech of Apollo. Before this is placed (with Burges) 85–87, the speech of Orestes.

68 ff. *ὑπὸν πεισοῦσαι* (*sic*, with MSS.) . . . *ποτε* is given as a complete sentence: 'ὀρῶνται or the like may be supplied.'

101. *μηνίσσεται*, for *μηνίεται*.

125. *πέπρωται*, for *πέπρακται*.

162 ff. *τοιαῦτα . . . κᾶρα* makes one sentence, so that *κρατοῦντες φορολιβῆ θρόνον* = 'masters of a blood-stained throne' (see commentary).

174. *τε* retained.

178. εἶσιν οὖ (with Weil), for ἐκείνου.
195. κλησίοισι (with Wieseler), for πλησίοις (-οισι). For κλεισίον, see Paus. 4. 1. 7.
211. γυναικὺς retained. τί γυναικὺς . . . ; = 'What of a woman . . . ?'
213. παρ' οὐδὲν ἦρκας ὥς (for ἠρκέσω): 'you have taken away (done away), as if of no account' (ὥς παρ' οὐδέν).
223. ἡσυχαιτέραι, dative, (for —αν), as comparative of ἡσυχῇ, 'more calmly.'
277. πολλῶν τε καιροῦς, for πολλοὺς καθαρμούς.
294. τίθησιν ὀρθὸν μὴ κατηρεφῇ πόδα (for ἢ κατηρεφῇ). Text has οὐ, but see commentary. The possibility of κατηρεφῆς ποῦς, as separate from and opposed to ὀρθός, is denied.
302. ἀναιμάτῳ βόσκημα δαιμόνων σκιᾷ (for ἀναιμάτων . . . σκιά), to be joined with preceding sentence, in sense 'feeding the (punitive) powers with bloodless shade,' the dative σκιᾷ depending on the verbal force in βόσκημα.
337. τοὶ σὺν αὐτοσυργίαις ξυμπέσωσιν.
364. ἐπικραίνων (for -ειν), to be joined with Ζεὺς in 366, the γάρ (MSS.) there being ejected.
408. πόλοις retained, and interpreted metaphorically as 'legs'.
424. βροτοκτονοῦντας retained in text, but αὐτοκτονοῦντας (Davies) preferred.
429. ἀλλ' ἢ ἔξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ τίνος τρέων κότον; (for ἀλλης . . . οὔτινος).
435. τὰ μὲν δίκαια (recc.) preferred to τὰ μὴ (M).
493. μεταστροφὰι (for καταστροφὰι) with Meineke.
494. ἢ κρατήσῃ (for εἶ), taking δίκαια τε καὶ βλάβη as = 'punishment'.
- 525 ff. τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει καρδίαν ἄν' <ἔτι> τρέων . . . (for ἀνατρέφω), interpreting by ἀνὰ καρδίαν 'in his heart', and μηδὲν ἐν φάει as 'nothing visible' or 'conspicuous'.
570. ἢ τ' οὖν . . . σάλπιγγί (with lacuna of — before).
595. πρὸς δέριν τεμὼν defended by βεβλήκει πρὸς στήθος (Hom. *Il.* 4. 108).
635. εὐφροσιν defended as masc. dative ethic, 'in the view of the well-disposed.'
641. τήνδ' αὖ (with Weil), for ταύτην.
- 666-667. Lacuna between.

688. πάγον δ' ἄρ' ἔξει (for Ἄρειον). No anacoluthon.
722. λέγεις explained (with Wilamowitz) as = 'Yes', in answer to question of Apollo, taken as meaning 'Was Zeus mistaken in purifying Ixion?'.—This should have been noticed in my commentary.
754. μολοῦσα, for βαλοῦσα.
792. δύσοισθ' ἄς (for δύσοιστα), the relative to be referred apparently to χώραι in 790, 'to whose citizens my injuries will be grievous.'
858. Lacuna after this, to explain ὅσῃν in 859.
862. ἐμμανέσι, for ἐμμανεῖς.
863. ἐξελοῦσ' retained, but see commentary.
- 886-888. No lacuna. Sentence continuous. Use of δ' οὖν illustrated by 226, σὺ δ' οὖν δίωκε, 'wo δ' οὖν wie überall enthält, dass man von etwas nicht weiter reden will.'
902. κατὰ χθόν' οὔσ(α) retained. No illustration.
921. Ἑλλάνων . . . δαιμόνων <θ>, the possibility of the phrase Ἑλλάνων δαιμόνων being denied.
933. βαρεῶν (*sic*, gen. fem. plural = βαρειῶν) with HL Ahrens.—This ought to have had notice in my commentary. It does not necessarily require ὁ γε μὴν (Linwood) for ὁ δὲ μὴ, which however Blass accepts.
988. ἐμ βροτοῖς, original reading of M. So ξυμ προσπόλοισι in 1025.
1024. κατὰ, for κάτω.
1026. ὅμμα referred to the company (λόχος) of women. No lacuna marked in this speech: φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι | τιμᾶτε construed as complete sentence, and explained, in reference to the robing of the Eumenides, after Roberts, who partly anticipated the suggestion of Headlam.
1045. σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς πρόπαν ἐνδαιτες οἶκων, where ἐνδαιτες σπονδαὶ (feasted with libation) is to be joined with τερπόμεναι in 1043.
- To pronounce off-hand on these points, or on the general merits of the book, would be rash, especially for me, who have so recently formulated my own opinions. At first sight, I find most attraction in the remarks on 101, 211, 223, 302, 429. Where Blass has supported an old view which I think important (as at 635), I am of course

much encouraged by his authority. Where he is most novel, he must be heard with consideration. To no one, except to a master in the subtler parts of Greek grammar, would it even have occurred as possible, that βόσκημα δαιμόνων σκιᾷ should mean 'a thing that feeds δαίμονες with its shadowy substance' (302). The correction there proposed may well be the true solution of the difficulty. One may regret in many places that the discussion is not more full; but even there we learn something important from the mere fact that Blass has no more to tell us. For example, upon the vitally significant question, how we should punctuate and construe the speech of Athena which precedes, and apparently produces, the conversion of the Erinyes, we may now say with increased confidence, that, if εἰ ἄγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας, σὺ δ' οἶν μένοις ἄν is a continuous sentence, and if δ' οἶν (888) is here apodotic, the phenomenon is altogether exceptional and without parallel. A reference to 226, σὺ δ' οἶν δίωκε, tells us only what no one doubts, that the force of these particles is to sum and dismiss the topic. But it prompts us not to accept, but to question more insistently, the assumption that they can be attached, in that sense or any, to the apodosis, the direct consequence, of a brief and simple conditional clause.

In some places it may appear, and it is no matter for surprise, that the problem presents itself to Blass rather as it would affect an analyst of language than as it may strike a student of poetry. For example, in 68 ff., it is quite true, as a matter of grammar, that ὕπνῳ πεσοῦσαι δ' αἱ κατάπνυστοι κόραι is construable as a complete sentence, by the supplement of a verb, 'such as ὀρώνται', from the preceding sentence ἀλούσας τάσδε ὀρώς. But whether this supplement is 'easy' to the literary and aesthetic sense, is a question to pause upon, when we consider, to how many readers and critics this ready escape has for some reason not seemed available. A like observation may be made at 213. If we admit that the conversion of (ταῦτα) ἦρκας ὡς παρ' οὐδέν, 'you have removed these things as of no account', into (ταῦτα) παρ' οὐδέν ἦρκας ὡς is not prohibited by any definite rule, this does not necessarily carry

the conviction that, as a matter of art, such an inversion is satisfactory to the ear. So again at 177, ποτιτρόποιος ὢν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κάραι | μιάστορ' †έκεινον† πάσεται. No one can disprove by rule the reading which Blass accepts from Weil, εἶσιν οἶ, with the interpretation 'The man of blood *shall go where* (in Hades) he shall still have a punisher (?) upon him.' But with this admission doubt is not laid to rest. So also at 525, and elsewhere.

As a personal view, I think that Blass, in common with others, is open to the criticism that, in reviewing the current text, he metes with unequal measure, and is too indulgent to tamperings which are not the less arbitrary because they have long been in print. In 416, for instance, λέγειν δ' ἄμορφον ὄντα τοὺς πέλας κακῶς | πρόσω δικαίων, 'that the uncomely should be abused by others is unjust', there is no difficulty; to substitute ἄμορφον, and so to obscure the clear, is not any more justifiable now than when the mistake was first made by Robortello. In the twenty verses of Athena (473-492), the MS. text is supposed to exhibit blunders, for the most part quite causeless and irrational, at the rate of more than one to every two lines. Surely it is a fair remark that, on this hypothesis, our only course is to obelize the whole passage. From witnesses so perverse nothing could be accepted with safety. But this controversy, not proper to the present book nor specially affected by it, must await the arbitration of time.

The Introduction discusses ably, but without probing very deeply, most of the questions which the play presents. We may welcome most warmly the observation, that Aeschylus, in his varying treatment of legend and mythology, is 'nowhere dogmatic'. All these things were for him mere symbols, to be so presented as from time to time seemed best for the commendation of truth. Truth itself lies above, 'far higher'. How much of such truth we should discover in the *Eumenides* is a weighty question. Professor Blass was disposed to admit that 'the interest of the play falls off, for us, after the first appearance of Athena', that is to say, before we reach the middle; and this is likely to be the inference from his position, that,

according to the conception of Aeschylus, the case of Orestes is settled for all purposes by the verdict of the Areopagus. But here we enter upon a debate too large for the

present opportunity. It remains only to express our thanks to those who have preserved to us this legacy from a venerable name.

A. W. VERRALL.

HERODOTUS.

Herodotus, the seventh, eighth, and ninth books, with introduction, text, apparatus, commentary, appendices, indices, maps. By REGINALD WALTER MACAN, D.Litt., University Reader in Ancient History, Master of University College, Oxford. Vol. I., Part I., introduction (pp. c.), Bk. VII., text and commentary (pp. 356). Part II., Bks. VIII. and IX., text and commentary (pp. 357-831). Vol. II., Appendices, Indices, Maps (pp. 462).

THE inevitable word that occurs in attempting to describe the present edition, with its heroic proportions, is 'monumental.' But it must be at once made clear that in connection with Dr. Macan, the word is by no means synonymous with 'heavy.' Some happy *δαίμων* ever sits by his side, and not only keeps the writer awake, but his reader also. When he dedicates his second volume to Professors Mahaffy, Butcher, and Bury, 'Iernensibus Iernensis,' we see much accounted for. (The first volume, by the way, is dedicated to a great trio of Herodotean critics—Stein, van Herwerden, and Holder.) Another secret of Dr. Macan's success is his enthusiasm for his author. He says, with perfect justice, in our opinion, 'There is, indeed, no ancient historian, whether upon his own ground or on general grounds, with whom Herodotus need fear comparison. He was more comprehensive than Thucydides; he was more candid than Xenophon; he was more brilliant than Polybius.' This is the true spirit for an editor. The cross-examination to which the author is subjected is most rigorous; but on the whole he emerges from it with enhanced credit. We must revise, and ever keep on revising, our estimates of ancient authors. Not long ago we used to be taught that a

strong line marked the distinction between the period of Herodotus and that of Thucydides. With the one Romance ended, with the other true History began. But now the gap has diminished; the older writer has been somewhat rehabilitated, while in the light of recent investigations the credit of the later might be described, to borrow the language of the Stock Exchange, as 'somewhat weaker, on attempts to realize.'

As to the text, it is taken in the main from Stein, by permission. An apparatus criticus is printed, which 'has been formed from the collation of Stein's various editions with the editions of Holder (Leipzig), van Herwerden (Utrecht), and others. This is very useful, of course; but the editor rightly says: 'The text is, on the whole, satisfactory to the mere historian: cases in which any point of material or historical importance turns upon the reading, are comparatively few in number.' He adds a short list of passages in the last three Books, apart from lacunae, glosses, and doubtful proper names, which afford textual problems of special interest from the realist point of view. To the 'doubtful proper names,' I should like to add one, thus using the privilege which may, I hope, be conceded to a reviewer, of taking the opportunity to ventilate views of his own, always of course with modesty and moderation. In viii. 73 I am convinced, and have been for some time (see Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Lent Term, 1893, p. 2), that *'Ορνεῖται* is a false reading, and has supplanted the true reading, *Θυρεῖται*. The Orneats are, in spite of the fancied analogy of Caerites, etc., mere intruders in the passage, and the general structure of the chapter with its list of the seven races of the Peloponnesus, demands that after mention of the Cynurii,

it should be specified in what town or towns they are to be looked for. This is clear enough. The Cynurians are the people of *Thyreä*, καὶ οἱ περίουκοι (keeping the article, which gives trouble if Ὀρνέηται be read).

In ix. 35 Dr. Macan judiciously (with Stein's third edition) abandons the conjecture, πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, which is much too uncertain to be assumed into the text, though the original πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ can hardly be right. He obelizes the word Ἰσθμῷ in his commentary, and it is perhaps a pity that he did not do so likewise in his text.

Though Dr. Macan's interest is mainly in *Realia*, we occasionally get an illuminating note on a point of grammar, as at vii. 122, κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον παραμείβετο τάσδε πόλεις, where Blakesley noted the absurdity of the statement, if κάμπτων is regarded as synchronous with παραμείβετο. Dr. Macan here says: 'But a present participle followed by a narrative verb to describe two successive acts is good Herodotean grammar; it is not the time-index in the participle that is most essential.' Here a little more clearness of exposition might perhaps be desirable. Otherwise, the note is all that could be wanted.

The printing of the book is excellent; considering the amount and variety of the material, strikingly so. One or two apparent slips may be pointed out. In vol. ii., p. 119, Themistokles is spoken of as the son of 'Neokles and Abrotonos.' But the name of Themistokles' mother—at least of his principal mother, for he seems to have had more than one—was not Abrotonos, which were impossible, but Abrotonon. At vii. 129, in the note on Πίνδος, we read that 'This great range runs nearly north, and south from 41° to 39° longit.' It is difficult to keep free from confusion in dealing with these 'merely conventional signs,' but 'latitude' is probably intended.

Dr. Macan is largely occupied, and most interestingly and profitably, in considering the growth of the Herodotean work. His main result he thus expresses (Intro., p. xlvii.): 'The genesis of the work is a legitimate subject of speculation, and what theory is at once more simple and more consistent with the work, as we find it, than the view

that Herodotus first projected, and, to a greater or less extent, first elaborated the History of the Persian War in Bks. vii., viii., ix., though not in quite the exact form, or with all the details, now presented in those Books; and that afterwards there developed before his mind the possibility of working up into a vast prelude to that main theme materials amassed during many years of study, research, inquiry, travel, a prelude that should portray the historic antecedents, both Barbarian and Hellenic, of the great struggle, and present in vivid colours a panorama of the two worlds that clashed together in the final duel?' For the truth of the view that the triad of books which are numbered last in the work before us were really its germ or nucleus, Dr. Macan produces an amount of evidence which collectively appears irresistible. But in this section of the work itself a certain amount of stratification may be recognized. In the Introduction, § 9, evidence is adduced of three successive redactions, of which the second is connected with Herodotus' life at Thurii. Here we are on ground that is more precarious, and perhaps less interesting.

Dr. Macan is throughout most generous in recognizing the value of the work of others in the same field. In spite of his thorough command of German resources, there is no neglect of English scholarship. Blakesley, who has sometimes not had due recognition, here has justice done him. In the Appendix on Salamis (vol. ii., Appendix vi.) Dr. Macan may fairly claim to have carried the solution of this problem to the furthest point yet reached—but the contribution of Blakesley to this result is fully and clearly set out. In the note on vii. 161 we read 'μάτην γὰρ ἂν ᾤδε παράλον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν forms, as Blakesley observed, an iambic trimeter.' But this is only the case on condition that ἂν is omitted. On this point Blakesley is safeguarded. Whether we really have here a 'buried verse' appears very doubtful.

As for the style of the notes and Essays, it were mere impertinence to praise it. But just because Dr. Macan is such a master of English, we might make bold to enlist his sympathies on a small point, the use of the

hybrid gerund-participle in -ing. 'Some pretext on which to prevent the question being re-opened' is not pretty English, to say the least. But these are mere moles and flecks.

Dr. Macan has done a great work; and we hope he will not think it discourteous if we recognize it, in a way not unusual, by asking him to do some more. The equipment necessary for an editor of the first triad of

Herodotus' books differs indeed in some respects from that required for the last six. But that Dr. Macan is equal to the task cannot be doubted. And if he can see his way to completing his Herodotus by an edition of Bks. i.-iii. the world of scholars and historians will not be ungrateful.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

LUDWICH'S *ILIAD*.

Homeri carmina, recensuit et selecta lectionis varietate instruxit ARTHURUS LUDWICH. Pars altera: *Ilias*, volumen alterum. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1907. Pp. xii + 652.

THE first volume of this edition of the *Iliad* was noticed *C.R.* 1903, 58. The reviewer has now to offer his hearty congratulations to the author upon the fulfilment of this portion of his great task. The general principles upon which Professor Ludwig's editions are based have long been known to the world, and do not require statement or criticism. A few observations upon method suggest themselves.

Herr Ludwig gives a capital letter to each MS., and cites them individually for each variant they give. The reader thus has the whole information before him, without the risks of inference and interpretation which attend upon the use of more complicated symbols. On the other hand, space is enormously sacrificed. A method which, with about 70 MSS., swells vol. ii. to 652 pages, would be impossible if the whole number of MSS., amounting to perhaps three times as many, were in question. Again, how are separate MSS. to be designated? Is tradition or consistency to prevail? A reviewer who is also an editor is in a delicate position; in the second edition of the Oxford *Iliad* it will be found that extensive changes in nomenclature have been perpetrated, and they may not be to the taste of everyone. However, I must boldly say that Herr Ludwig has not improved matters by his arrangements. The members of the small

collection of *Iliads* at Vienna were known—the three that were quoted—as L, G, H, a preposterous enough device, and which could not last, however consecrated by time. What has Herr Ludwig done? Given them all one letter? No; he calls the first two W, and the last three X, breaking therefore with tradition without introducing a consistent treatment. The letter P is divided among Milan, Paris, and Perugia; E covers Eton, the Estense, and the British Museum; the Laurentian MSS. are to be sought under F, M, and S (while C and D, once dear to us, have vanished); Paris, not content with part of P, governs Y, and the Venetian codices range from A through B to K and N. Clearly such a system is transitory, and can impose no obligation on those who come after.

The MSS. for which Herr Ludwig is his own authority are enumerated in his *Beiträge zur Homerischen Handschriftenkunde* (1900). The other material is afforded partly by his predecessors and partly by Dr. Leaf's substantial statistics from London and Paris. What is entirely Herr Ludwig's own is his wealth of ancient quotations, more especially from the grammarians. One needs only open the editions which preceded his to feel that this branch of evidence is practically his creation. While the accumulations of papyri must put all our editions on the shelf, to have exhausted this province is an abiding merit. The public, however, are not content even with the strenuous service of forty years; they ask anxiously after the scholia to the *Odyssey*.

T. W. ALLEN.

GRUNDRISS DER VERGLEICHENDEN GRAMMATIK.

Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik.

By KARL BRUGMANN. Vol. II. (Morphology). Edition II. Part I. Leipzig, 1906.¹

HEARTY and respectful welcome will be given to this evidence of continued activity on the part of the veteran leader of Philological science. Like the first edition, it is a book which becomes indispensable the moment it is published. No one can henceforward profitably consider any point in the whole sphere of Noun-formation in any of the Indo-European languages without first ascertaining at least the latest advance of discovery that has been recognised and recorded in the *Grundriss*. In reviewing the second edition of the first Volume, one could not but (in some sense) regret the inevitable expansion of material which the work of twenty years had added to its bulk; yet the disadvantage was in itself a triumph. One commanding intellect had surveyed an enormous field of knowledge, and brought order out of chaos, into every province, and almost every corner; and the result was that a hundred scholars of humbler powers were enabled to cultivate their own particular part of the field with a safety and thoroughness which had never before been possible. Exactly the same double-edged reflection is suggested by this second edition of the first part of the second Volume. The pages have risen from 462 to 688, and the difference is some measure, though an inadequate measure, of the amount of solid knowledge added to the possessions of mankind by the work and the influence of its author in the last quarter of a century.

The chief, perhaps the only serious, changes in plan are two. (1) Very much larger room is given to the treatment of the meaning of the formative elements (which one may more briefly call with Brugmann, *Formantia*). In the first edition this occupied only thirty pages; it has now been expanded, very fruitfully and very happily, to over a hundred. This part of the book, in fact, affords a second and hardly less

important point of view from which the whole material can be surveyed, and a glance through the careful Table of Contents will make it possible for scholars who wish to discover how any one of a large number of special significations is commonly expressed in the Indo-European languages, to ascertain at once whether there is any one or more special forms charged with this meaning, and precisely through how many languages it spreads. Thus, for instance, the denotation of Sex, of Parts of the Body, of Relationship, of Animals, of Actions and Agents, of Localities and their Inhabitants, of Tools, of Time, Extent, Colour, Disease, Affection, Contempt, and many more such concepts, are all separately collected and explained. How useful this is, even for a mainly literary appreciation of the separate languages, every scholar and teacher will realise.

The only other important modification of the plan of the first edition is (2) a very considerable expansion of the theoretical exposition of principles at the outset. The reader very soon learns to feel that he has before him, not merely a wonderful collection of facts (which would be appalling in their multitude if they were less lucidly arranged), but an acute, philosophic and leisurely survey of their essential meaning, that is, of the contribution which is made by this huge chapter of separate linguistic data to the history of the spirit of man. The mass of the book is an indispensable handbook of reference, but the first hundred pages are much more than this. They should be read by every teacher of language, as containing a good part of the fruit of a lifetime spent in studying the growth of the human mind as reflected in human language. Here the great master shows the same interpreting and fertilizing touch which has marked his earlier work. In the motto from Goethe, which he still modestly prefixes to the whole,

'There shall many a riddle be loosed,
But many a riddle tied anew,'

the first line well suggests the keen pleasure which will be felt by his pupils all over the

¹[The Editor thinks it right to state that the delay of this notice is not due to the present reviewer.]

world in the freshness and power with which some of the most intricate problems in the growth of language are handled in this part of the book. The doctrine in the main is what it was, but it comes now enriched and, if one may say so, mellowed by a more contemplative tone and a greater wealth of genial illustration.

Of smaller changes may be mentioned the transfer of the suffix-less noun-stems (like *rex régis*) to their natural place before those containing suffixes or infixes; and the interesting treatment of the *φερέοικος*, *τερψίχορος* class, whose first part is now justly recognised as verbal. 'Conglutinate' for complex formantia like *-s-mo-*, *-mōn-io-*, *-es-τηρ-io-*; 'Suppletion' for the process by which defective parts of a paradigm are made up by forms based on a different root (*φέρω*, *οἶσω*, *ἤνεγκα*) are among the most useful of many new terms to which currency is now given. For names of different classes of compounds the old and ambiguous 'Determinative' still lingers, though it is officially superseded by 'Exo-centric' to denote a compound which is used as an epithet to

something else, the familiar *ροδοδάκτυλος* class. The opposite of this, when the result is a substantive (e.g. *ἀκρόπολις*) should surely be called 'Endocentric' rather than 'Esocentric'; it seems rather a cruelty to hearers, printers and readers alike to make an important difference of meaning depend merely on the difference of two single sounds and symbols which are so closely alike as *s* and *x*.

Every one will welcome the separate paragraph-numbering and pagination announced for each part of the new edition of Volume II.; a select Index would have been welcome too, but in this particular part the task of selection would have been so difficult as to be almost impossible; for it would be obviously absurd to catalogue in the Index every word that happened to be cited in the book merely as containing a particular formant.

I have noted only one misprint; the preposition *in* has fallen out in the last line of p. 249.

R. S. CONWAY.

Manchester, November, 1908.

MARSHALL'S CATALOGUE OF FINGER-RINGS.

Catalogue of the Finger-Rings (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum. London: F. H. Marshall, M.A., printed by order of the Trustees, 1907. 8vo. 54+258. 160 Figures in text and 35 Plates. 23s.

THOSE who at any time have occupied themselves with a collection of smaller antiquities, are able to estimate the difficulties involved in cataloguing a series of such objects as ancient rings. While the kindred subject of ancient gem-engraving has the advantage of Furtwaengler's splendid work on gems for a thoroughly trustworthy guide, which can be largely supplemented by the advance of investigation, nothing has for many years been done in regard to antique rings, and the enormous mass of existing and undigested material has done more to repel than attract.

From this point of view we regard Mr. Marshall's work as a very important production, destined to form the basis of all subsequent labours.

The Catalogue proper is prefaced by a short Introduction. The first chapter collects all the available information from trustworthy literary sources on the practical use of rings as seal-rings, as the insignia of particular officials or persons, and as wedding-rings; further contributing much information on their use as amulets. To set apart a special class of 'poison-rings,' although rings are occasionally mentioned as used for holding poison, is inadmissible, nor can any definite conclusion be laid down as to the manner in which the poison was introduced into the rings.

In the second section the author deals with rings as ornaments, and here again

mainly depends on literary tradition. In his view an increasing popularity of these ornaments is to be observed during the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods; but that does not accord with the facts of the case. The great popularity of the ring as an ornament even in the very earliest times is fully attested by the innumerable rings with geometrical decoration from Boeotian tombs, while for the archaic Greek period we have similar evidence in the metal rings ornamented with relief, which are not uncommon. Further, the delicately-cut older Ionic rings may with tolerable certainty be regarded as ornamental, the use of which as seal-rings the author would at least admit as possible. To this section are appended a few notes on the subject of the fingers on which the rings were worn.

In the next section, which deals with the inscriptions on rings, a doubt may be permitted as to whether the names sometimes found on the rings actually indicate the owner in all cases, or if they may not equally well be artists' signatures. In the case of entirely unornamented rings there is, of course, no room for such doubt. But the name Anaxiles, for example, which occurs on the very important ring No. 52, may equally well be that of the artist.

Some very valuable remarks on the technique and material of ancient rings¹ form the concluding section of the Introduction, together with a survey of the forms employed. This survey, although confined to the British Museum collection, and therefore in no way claiming to be exhaustive, must be commended as specially instructive.

To be able to speak of the Catalogue itself in detail requires actual personal handling of the rings themselves; for well and carefully executed as are the plates, yet in many cases the small scale of the illustration forbids close investigation. But it may be said by way of preliminary, that the descriptions appear to be very trustworthy, and that is the essential requirement of an illustrated catalogue which is intended for those unfamiliar with the collection. We can only approve the choice of Furtwaengler's conclusions as a basis for

the dating of the engraved gold rings and the intaglios.

A few remarks on points of detail must follow. The gold ring No. 43, one of the best examples in the collection, with its wonderfully naïve attempt at foreshortening of a horse with its rider, can hardly be of later date than 450 B.C.; similar attempts in red-figure vase-painting point rather to an earlier date. For the design on the gold ring No. 48, rightly dated about 450 B.C., a comparison may be made with the so-called Penelope or the seated woman, of the well-known Melian terra-cotta group, as the author has very properly done with No. 66 and the coins of Histiaeia. The subject of the ring No. 374 (Plate xi.) is described as 'three warriors standing before a low altar upon which is a bird.' But the circumstance that the head of the warrior on the right is on a much smaller scale, and that nothing of his legs is visible, demands another explanation. It seems to me clear that the bearded warrior is Odysseus, the beardless one Diomedes, who carries in his left arm the Palladion (*i.e.* 'the third warrior'). But the explanation of the altar still remains doubtful. The Etruscan ring No. 379, with the subject of a kneeling warrior, surely belongs to the fifth century. The manner in which the figure is disposed in the space provokes a comparison with the earlier subject on the interior of the Sosias cup, or—to take an obvious example of local and contemporary work—the Etruscan mirror in Gerhard (Pl. 233) with the subject of Achilles and Penthesilea. One of the most interesting rings in the collection is the bronze ring No. 1258, described as 'Eros crouching on one leg and holding with both hands a strap (?) which passes through a ring.' Obviously here we have an instance of the use of the 'magic wheel' as a love-charm, the *ἔργον*. The nearest parallel to the ring is the vase recently published by A. Brueckner in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1907, p. 79 (cf. p. 94), where Himeros is fastening up the wheel in just the same fashion.

As already noted, the plates are admirable, and executed with the greatest care, while the printing is free from errors except for a few trifles, such as 574 for 674 on page xxviii.

¹ For the expressions *ἐπὶ χρυσός* and *κατὰ χρυσός* cf. Wilamowitz in *Berichte der Berl. Akad.* 1901, p. 1318.

The great number of illustrated types raises the work far above the average. It is a real joy to have placed before one's eyes this rich collection of choice pieces, and one cannot lay the volume aside without feeling the need of a lively expression of gratitude to the

author, who has known how to dispose his unwieldy and difficult material in a thorough-going and charming manner.

ERICH PERNICE.

Greifswald.

SHORT NOTICES

Q. Asconii Pediani Commentarii. Recognovit A. C. CLARK. (Oxford text).

As editor of Asconius, Mr. Clark shews himself a worthy successor of Manutius, Madvig, the 'sospitator Asconii,' and Kiessling and Schoell, who so named Madvig. His work marks the limit of what scholarship can at present do for the author, and will probably remain the standard text for a long period of time. As in his other undertakings, Mr. Clark has proved himself unwearied and successful in the pursuit of evidence, and judicious in his use of it. Even a destructive critic (a rarity now, but not unknown) could find here little material for the exercise of his art. The conditions attached to the series in which the book appears must of course have cramped Mr. Clark a little. A bibliography of editions, pamphlets and articles relating to Asconius would have been a boon. In the construction of it some matter worth taking into account would probably have come to light. I do not think, for instance, that Mr. Clark refers to a Breslau program on the codices of Asconius, by Schniedeburg (1905) which I have seen quoted.

Little or nothing could be added to the information about Asconius given by Kiessling and Schoell, which is here conveniently repeated. It is curious that a passage in Silius Italicus (12, 212-4) referring to a Pedianus of Patavium as distinguished both in arms and in letters during the time of Hannibal, should still be taken as good evidence of the noble descent of our Asconius. Silius invented the names of his minor combatants as freely as Virgil, and we can often see a reason for his inventions, as when he introduces a Galba and a Piso side by side

(10, 403). The Pedianus of Silius was no doubt suggested by our Asconius, but the mention of literature at Patavium in that age shews how mythical the figure is. The name *Antenorides* applied to Pedianus by Silius is national, not personal.

Mr. Clark's valuable researches on the text are embodied in the account given in the preface of its history since Poggio made his famous raid on St. Gallen. A curious and interesting history it is. Mr. Clark argues that the Madrid transcript of Asconius is Poggio's own and his case seems to be a good one. In the choice of readings for his own text, Mr. Clark brings into play all the sound and thorough scholarship which his previous work has led us to expect from him. Of his own suggestions, some are obviously right, many more are probable and not one flouts the requirements of the passage or the laws of Latin. More than this can rarely be said of a text. The lacunose condition (in parts) of the transcripts from the lost St. Gallen MS. makes emendation often difficult. Of matters which have given me pause in Mr. Clark's *apparatus criticus* I can only mention a few. In § 3 Asconius refers to the privilege whereby members of a Latin community could become Roman citizens by rising to office in their town:—*ut petendo magistratus civitatem Romanum adipiscerentur*. Here *petendo* is written by Mr. Clark for *petendi* or *peti*. But Asconius can hardly have supposed that mere candidature for a magistracy was sufficient. A. Augustinus proposed *gerendo*, which gives the required sense. Perhaps Asconius wrote *obeundo*. In § 13 there is in the codices *idem provinciam deposuerat ne sumptui esset oratio* (or *oro*). The reference is to Scaevola the pontifex, at

the time of his consulship. For *oratio* Manutius wrote *aerario* and Mr. Clark suggests *populo Romano*. But the word required seems to be *ornatio*, the technical phrase for expenditure on the equipment of a magistrate for his province. When Scaevola went to Asia after his praetorship he refused to accept the ordinary grant from the treasury. He was still of the same mind, but (apparently) unable to supply the money for himself. At § 32 there is mention of a law passed by C. Cornelius the tribune of 67 B.C. 'ut praetores ex edictis suis perpetuis ius dicerent.' Asconius adds *quae res eum* (so MSS.) *aut gratiam ambitiosis praetoribus qui varie ius dicere assueverant sustulit*. For *eum* Mr. Clark gives *studium*. But *studium* is too like *gratiam*; a word of opposite sense is needed, such as *telum*, which is often metaphorically applied to powers or privileges capable of being used out of spite. The praetors contradicted their edicts in order to do damage to their enemies as well as favours to their friends. At § 84 Mr. Clark wishes to read *submisisse capillum* for *immisisse c.*, on the strength of Plin. ep. 7, 27, 14, *reis moris est summittere capillum*. But in this sense *immittere*, *submittere*, *demittere*, *promittere* are all equally good. See the 'Thesaurus,' s.v. *barba*, and particularly fragm. 47 of Sisenna there quoted.

Considerations of space compel me to part unwillingly here from Mr. Clark's book, which is sure to receive elsewhere the extended examination it deserves.

J. S. REID.

APOLLODORUS' (OF DAMASCUS) ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΤΙΚΑ.

Griechische Poliorketiker von RUDOLF SCHNEIDER. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908. (51 diagrams.)

THIS edition of R. Schneider (Göttingen) has, with Preface, a note on Apollodorus Damascenus, Trajan's *magister fabrum*, builder of that Emperor's bridges, forum, odeum and gymnasium, and victim of the Imperial exiling and execution. Procopius (*De Aed.* iv. 6), Dio Cassius (lxix. 4. 1) and Spartianus (*Had.* 19. 13) refer to him; the last-men-

tioned gives Hadrian's commission to Architect Apollodorus for a statue to the Moon. The chief codices followed for the text are Parisini M. and P. with the Vaticanus (V.). The editor has drawn on C. Wescher's *Poliorkétique des Grecs* (Paris, 1867) and Ernest Lacoste, *Les Poliorkétiques d'Apollodore de Damas*. *Traduction, Revue des études grecques*, iii. Paris, 1890. A (diffuse) translation into German is followed by an index and the 51 diagrams of storming apparatus. A σκάνδαλον *in limine* is ὑπελάλησα, translated *habe ich . . . durchgesprochen*, but the sentence is awkward: πᾶσιν (ὑποδείγμασιν) ὑπελάλησα καὶ ὑπουργὸν ἀπέλυσα. For ὑπολαλέω L. and S. give as authorities only: Greg. Nyss., Byz., Math. Vett. and Eustathius, authors that land us in the fourth and later centuries. True, Apollodorus of Damascus is unknown to the List of Authors in L. and S., who give no such word as ὑπολατρεύω; still, ὑπελάτρευσα suits the context (ὑπουργὸν ἀπ.) better than ὑπελάλησα, 'chattered in an under-tone, murmured, whispered.' Among the strange words (for which the Damascene apologises) are: ἀρίς, drill (?), κατᾰσσω (= κατᾰγνιμι), μάγγανον (Kloben am Flaschenzuge), the dim. σιαγόνιον (a LXX word), (τὰς καλουμένας) ψιάθους, (die sogenannten) 'Jalousien.' Of these the first only is known to L. and S. as occurring in our author, on whom it is, perhaps, a little hard that his name does not figure on R. Schneider's brochure cover, though he designed the Forum and Column of Trajan (and the bridge over the Danube)—works imperishable.

Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia, Edidit PAULUS HILDEBRANT. Leipzig, 1907 (Teubner Text).

SOME readers of German periodicals bearing on Classical studies may remember that the Editor of this volume has been engaged in controversy with some other German scholars interested in the subject. That a few weaknesses in the book have been indicated I am not disposed to deny. But nevertheless the Editor has achieved a most laborious task in a manner which, on the whole, entitles him to gratitude. The preface gives an elaborate

account of the famous MS. of the Scholia, part of which is now at Milan, part at Rome. The 'Scholia Gronoviana,' preserved in a Leyden MS., are prefixed to the text. The Editor believes them to be extracted from a lost portion of the 'Bobiensia,' and has argued the matter in a dissertation published some time back. Although many will think that he has not made out his case, it is convenient to have the two sets of Scholia printed together. The handling of the text is generally sound, though open to criticism here and there. A very elaborate index occupies almost half the volume, and there are two photographic plates, one from the Ambrosian, the other from the Roman portion of the palimpsest.

J. S. REID.

Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae.

Ediderunt et explanaverunt JOANNES DE PROTT, LUDOVICUS ZIEHEN.

II. 1. *Leges Graeciae et Insularum*

Edidit L. ZIEHEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. M. 12.

THIS book is part of a work projected by the two editors; of which one part was issued by Prott in 1896, but his untimely death left the work unfinished. The cult of Alexander and his successors was the subject that fell to Prott; and Ziehen was to take the rest. Here we have the first part of Ziehen's work. The texts here published are not all those which relate to religious matters; votive inscriptions, catalogues, administrative enactments, might all have a claim, but their bulk was too great to allow of their inclusion as a whole. Those that deal with temple finance, the use of moneys and farms, have been almost wholly omitted, amongst them the Tabulae Heracleenses; some, however, that contain allusions to points of special importance, have been included. The inscriptions have been given whole or not at all, with three exceptions, one of which is the Will of Epicteta.

The inscriptions are printed in minuscule, but with word-divisions and accents, the same plan as was adopted in the Teubner booklet of Greek inscriptions. It is difficult to read, and when the subject is the chief

matter of importance, it seems to be a pity to add a new difficulty to the student's task. For all matters of palaeography or dialect, for critical discussions of date and other questions that depend on the alphabet, students will go to other books, and the editor's purpose could have been served as well by a transliteration in the common script.

The commentary is searching and complete. It includes criticism of the text and the various restorations suggested; not seldom the editor is able to improve on his predecessors, as in the supplement πεντετηρίδι τῶν Παναθηναίων, p. 50 (*I.G.* i. suppl. p. 64, 35 ὁ). Abundance of illustrations are quoted, which will materially help in the understanding of the text. See, for instance, the illustrations on p. 16 of privileges conferred by decree to single persons.

The editor is cautious however, more so than some of his compatriots; he refuses to accept a conjecture as established fact, as in Kirchoff's restoration of a line in the same inscription (p. 16-17), and he has omitted it from his text. In discussing the temple of Wingless Victory he is more arbitrary than usual; assigning the decree of its building to a time between 460 and 446—probably in 450/449—he will not allow it to have been built until after the Propylaea. There is less in the notes than could be wished about peculiar forms or constructions, such as ἀύσαντᾶς (p. 156) from Calauria.

The book is invaluable to students of Greek religion; no other can give a survey of the sources over the whole Greek area of Europe and the islands, accompanied by the materials for the most searching study. With the second part of this volume, containing the inscriptions of Asia, the editor's task will be done. It is to be hoped he will not leave his colleague Prott's work incomplete.

W. H. D. R.

Hellenistische Bauten in Latium. I. Baubeschreibungen. By R. DELBRÜCK. Strassburg: Karl J. Trubner, 1907. 1 vol. 4to. 0.31 x 0.24. Pp. viii + 92. 20 plates and 88 illustrations in text.

THIS volume contains accurate detailed drawings and descriptions of several of the best

known monuments of the Republican period in Rome and Latium—the Aqua Marcia (near the so-called Porta Furba, two miles out of Rome), the Pons Mulvius, the Pons Aemilius (Ponte Rotto), the Tabularium, and a portion of the buildings connected with the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste. With the illustrations, mainly from drawings by Italian architects from Herr Delbrück's measurements and under his direction and responsibility, no fault can be found, and their accuracy will bear testing on the spot. In regard to the interpretation of the facts, however, he is not always correct.

Thus various indications, some of them already accessible to him at the time his work was done, go to show that the 'court-yard' at Palestrina was really a roofed basilica, notably the arrangements for the carrying off of rainwater from the roof, and further the existence, ascertained by recent excavations, of eight columns on the N. side of the aforesaid 'court.' This is also the view of Professor Hülsen (cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 292 n).

In other points, too, recent work at Palestrina may cause some modification, and it will be fairer to wait till the publication of vol. ii. before passing a final judgment.

The second part of the work, too, will perhaps persuade us of the justice of calling Hellenistic what we have hitherto been inclined to consider characteristic specimens of Roman construction of the Republican period.

Contractions in early Latin Minuscule MSS.,
by WM. LINDSAY. Oxford: Parker. St.
Andrews University Publications, V.

It might have seemed that there was not much left to discover about Latin MSS. after all these centuries of study; but Traube's *Nomina Sacra* has revolutionized the whole. He has discovered why the old method of suspension (*i.e.* the word represented by the first letter or letters) gave way to contraction (*e.g.* DOM. to DNS.), and by so doing has furnished invaluable tests of the age of MSS. These results, with classified lists of his own notes, are given by Prof. Lindsay in the pamphlet before us. It will be indispensable

to editors, critics, and students. Without the knowledge it contains, corruptions cannot be safely mended; and it forms thus a useful check on the emender, whilst suggesting to the careful student how he ought to emend. Many mistakes are due to a scribe of one country wrongly interpreting the abbreviation written in another country, where the same symbol meant a different thing.

W. H. D. R.

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

American Book Company: Herodotus vii and viii (Smith and Laird), and Xenophon's *Hellenica* (Brownson). Sanborn: Virgil's *Aeneid* i-vi (Fairclough and Brown). Ginn: *Epigrams of Martial* (Post). Clarendon Press: *Select Epigrams of Martial* i-vi (Bridge and Lake).

ALL these books, compiled for America, differ somewhat from English books. They seem to be meant for both schools and colleges, and therefore lack unity of aim: besides this, they have the common fault of annotated editions, that they try to meet the wants of both teacher and learner. For the teacher, the elaborate introduction and the very full bibliography are necessary; but they are of no use to the learner, only to one who has already learnt. The learner, again, may profit by some of the notes; but on the other hand, many of the notes are meant for the teacher, and others would not be needed if there should be someone to teach. Of the four books, the Martial is best adapted to school use; but this, like the Herodotus and the Xenophon, has notes at the foot of the text. The Martial is a very good book; it contains a great deal of illustrative matter (an index of 14 pages refers to the authors cited in notes), and Martial needs notes more than most authors. We have noted only one important omission: in discussing the epigram, votive epigrams ought to be added to the list of true epigraphic superscriptions (p. xxiii). The two Greek books are clearly printed, but need larger margins. The Herodotus, besides a historical introduction adapted from Stein, has a very full analysis of the author's Ionic dialect, a piece of useful and original work; which would be better, however, if printed so that text and references were distinct. The notes are practical, and show knowledge of Greek lands. The apparatus of the Xenophon is also good; the notes contain too much that is elementary (*e.g.* explanation of *μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ*, simple concords, and so forth), but frequent references to several different grammars can only be useful to the teacher. The Virgil has notes at the end, and an English analysis of the text at every few lines; 320 pp. of notes with less than half that amount of text. There are far too many elementary notes, whilst many real difficulties are left alone (*e.g.* iii. 305 *lacrimis* after a

noun, 317 *deiectam*=*viduam*, 340 cause of incomplete sentence, 661 *lumen ademptum*, life or eye?). There is a vocabulary, which is surely not advisable at this stage. The editors omit the first four lines of the *Aeneid*, although they admit that Virgil wrote them and that his first editors cut them out: just what editors would do, spoiling the whole balance of the period, and making our gentle Virgil into an Ancient Pistol. Any who still cling to *arma virumque* should be advised to read Henry's triumphant vindication of the four lines. The English style of the editors is not good: Virgil is made to 'hail from' the provinces (xvii) and the specimen prose translation on p. lviii is full of tags of iambic verse. The good points of the book are an abundance of excellent pictures, an excellent introduction on Virgil's literary influence, many literary notes and parallels, and the marking of the long vowels in Bk. i and vocabulary. The book would do well for revising the six books after first reading them in a plain text.

THIS book, more unpretending than Post's *Martial*, is also better suited to be a schoolbook. It contains the Oxford text of all the readable epigrams, with a short but admirable introduction on Martial, the epigram, patron and client, cooptator and orbus, recitations, books, spectacles, chronology, metre, text (35 pp.), and good, sensible notes.

Weidmann: Cicero in *Verrem* v (O. Drenckhahn, M. I. 40).

THE plain text is well printed, with good margins, and bound in cloth; German notes in a separate pamphlet enclosed at the end of the book.

NEW EDITIONS.

Clarendon Press: *Homeri opera* i, ii. (Allen).

Clark: *Prolegomena to the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Moulton).

Heinemann: Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of Rome* iv.

A NEW edition—the third—has been published of Prof. J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena*. There are a large number of small changes, in which the author has profited by criticism or has added to his knowledge; and enlarged indices, with a new index of Greek words and forms. The preface contains a brief answer to the criticism that Egyptian Greek may have been

influenced by Aramaic. We must protest, however, against the practice, now so common, of refusing to improve a book for fear of altering the pages. This is the publisher's fault, no doubt, but the fact remains that more improvements might have been made (see p. xv for the author's admission), and that we have nearly 20 pp. of notes at the end which ought to be in the text, and addenda to the indices.

The Oxford *Iliad* is now in its second edition; in which use is made of papyri discovered since the first, and other new matter is put into the notes, from Ludwich and Leaf, which would have been more 'nisi illa lege obstricti essemus ne paginis pridem instructis ab alia in aliam stichus transcurreret.' This is another instance of the practice just mentioned, and more culpable in a university press.

We have already reviewed the Italian edition of Ferrero's book: the English translation must, however, be mentioned here. It is very well done, cheap (6s. net), and well printed. Whether Ferrero be right or wrong, there is no question that the book is as absorbing as a sensational novel.

The *Electra* is the latest added to the shortened edition of Jebb's Sophocles: Mr. G. A. Davies has treated it on the same plan as the others. Messrs. Ginn have brought out a new and revised edition of Plato's *Apology and Crito* (Louis Dyer); the new editor, T. D. Seymour, and the original editor, both died suddenly before the book was published. The new edition contains extracts from *Phaedo* and *Symposium* and from the *Memorabilia*, with notes, and the introduction has been rewritten. A useful book is King's *Philippics* of Cicero i, ii, iii, v, and vii. The notes are nearly all taken from the larger edition, which is well known to scholars, and revised by A. C. Clark.

Four volumes of Weidmann's *Sammlung* have lately appeared in new editions. These are: Kiessling's *Odes and Epodes* of Horace (5th ed. by R. Heinze), Nipperdey's *Annals* of Tacitus, xi-xvi (6th ed. by G. Andressen), Stein's *Herodotus* vii (6th ed.), and Classen's *Thucydides* vii (3rd ed. by J. Steup). These have introductions and German footnotes. There is practically no change in the Horace. In Tacitus, about 100 changes are made, 75 restoring or giving for the first time the MS. reading, and the spelling has been brought closer to the MSS.; the commentary has been improved and corrected, with special reference to the Prosop. Imper. Rom. At the end, Claudius's speech on the Gothic *Ius Honorum* is added from C.I.L. xiii 1668, with notes. The commentary on *Thuc.* vii has been enlarged and revised by Steup.

OBITUARY

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.

PROFESSOR SEYMOUR, who died on Dec. 31, was born in Hudson, Ohio, April 1, 1848, of Puritan ancestry on both sides. He received the degree of B.A. at Western Reserve University, where he was Professor of Greek from 1872 to 1880, when he became Professor of Greek at Yale University; he held this position until his death. He studied classical philology in Berlin and Leipsic in 1870-72, and made many visits to Greece and other Greek lands.

His powerful influence on American scholarship was exerted in many ways: by his teaching, by his activity as editor and reviewer, and by his own writings: by his shining example as a profound, unwearied, accurate and fruitful scholar, impatient ever of inadequate work: by the close friendships he established with the scholars of his own and of the younger generation, and not least by his activity as administrator of large enterprises. His writings were miscellaneous in character, Pindar, Plato, but above all Homer being his favourite authors. His earliest book was his *Selected Odes of Pindar* (1882); he wrote many notes on Plato: while he attested his lifelong devotion to Homer by his *Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer* (1885), *Homer's Iliad*, I-VI (1887-90), *Homeric Vocabulary* (1889), *School Iliad*, (1891), *Introduction and Vocabulary to School Odyssey*, eight books (1901)—most of all, however, by his *Life in the Homeric Age*, published only three months before his death. Besides original articles in the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association and *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, and in more popular periodical literature

(*Scribner's Magazine*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Chautauquan*, etc.), he wrote a vast number of shorter notes and book reviews, signed and unsigned, in the *Nation* (New York), *American Journal of Philology*, *Classical Philology*, and this Review. Since 1889 he had been one of the Associate Editors of this Review for America.

He was for twelve years chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. At the time of his death, he had been President of the Archaeological Institute of America for five years. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Western Reserve University in 1894, by Glasgow in 1901, and by Harvard in 1906. He had countless friends, here and abroad, some of whom were attached to him by the warmest ties of affection: among these, to name only the dead, were F. D. Allen, Blass, Jebb, and Lord Kelvin.

All who knew him loved him for the purity and loftiness of his character, and for his high disinterestedness; they admired him for the swiftness and sureness of his mind in action, for his marvellous powers of work, for the range of his intellectual interests, and for his broad outlook on life, where sensitiveness to new ideas was united with a wise conservatism. To many of us, in his going forth,

δύσπετό τ' ἥελιος σκιδώντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγναί.

JOHN H. WRIGHT.

[We regret to add that before this notice reached us, the author himself died.

EDITOR C.R.]

ARCHAEOLOGY

CORSTOPITUM.

THE excavations on the site of Corstopitum were resumed in July last, and continued till early in October, the area examined

lying on the north side of the broad street discovered in 1907. The buildings fronting on this street proved to have been of con-

siderable importance, and included two large granaries, nearly a hundred feet in length from north to south, and more than twenty feet in width. Each has been heavily buttressed on the east, north, and west sides, and the flagged floors have been supported on parallel dwarf walls, the space below being ventilated by means of apertures in the main walls between each pair of buttresses on the east and west sides: in the case of the western building these apertures have been divided by stone bars or mullions, one of which was found in place. The west granary is probably of earlier date than the other: its foundations lie at a lower level, and its floor has been renewed and raised. In front of this building a large altar, broken in two pieces, was found: the upper part of the inscription is obliterated, but the lower half seems to indicate that the dedicator was an officer in charge of the granary at the time of a successful campaign in Britain. The east granary produced several fragments of sculpture, of which the most remarkable was a stone panel bearing a radiated head with a circular *nimbus*; a scourge projects from behind the left shoulder, and probably the deity represented is the sun god.

To the east of the granaries the 'fountain,' first discovered in 1907, was again cleared, but practically no fresh light was thrown on its character or purpose. A broad street, running north and south, comes up to the back of it and overlaps it on the east side: this street, like most of those so far discovered, shows traces of two reconstructions above the original level.

To the east of the street just mentioned were the remains of a structure of great extent and evident importance, only part of which lay within the reserved area. Much of it had been destroyed down to the foundation course, but on the west side, which measures over two hundred and twenty feet, a good section of the outer wall was found standing four courses high,—a plain foundation course, a second course with a moulded plinth on the outside, the inner face being of rustic work, and two courses with rustic work on both faces. The stones are very massive and closely jointed, each extending the full thickness of the wall,—viz. two feet six

inches. From the inner face cross walls project eastwards at intervals of about eighteen feet, forming a series of small courts, which appear to have opened upon a large central court. On the south side of the building, so far as it could be examined, traces were found of a range of courts or chambers, which possibly opened upon the street, but there was no indication of a main entrance, which possibly lies just to the east of the part explored: this may indicate that the building was approximately a square. The foundations of a part of the north wall were traced, and a range of courts seems to have existed on this side also; but of this part very little remained, and it appears to have been destroyed and abandoned before the end of the Roman occupation.

To the west of this northern part was a small building of late date and rough construction, which produced the most important find of the year. At the back of what appeared to be the remains of a small furnace or oven was found a hoard of forty-eight gold coins and a large gold ring, wrapped in a piece of sheet lead. The coins, which are in splendid condition, were minted under the following Emperors:

Valentinian I.	-	-	-	4
Valens	-	-	-	2
Gratian	-	-	-	16
Valentinian II.	-	-	-	8
Theodosius	-	-	-	5
Magnus Maximus	-	-	-	13

It is probable that they were deposited about A.D. 385. The find is of great importance as proving that the occupation of Corstopitum continued at least until the later years of the fourth century.

Apart from this hoard, the series of coins unearthed was very large, the total number being above a thousand. Two hoards of small bronze coins (third brass and *minimi*) of the latter part of the Constantinian period were found, and their burnt condition seems to afford evidence, confirming that found last year, of an extensive fire about A.D. 340. The excavations produced large quantities of pottery, including *terra sigillata*, Caster, and other wares, and the list of potters' names found at Corstopitum has been considerably

increased; but beyond one small fragment, nothing could be definitely assigned to an earlier period than the second century. Small bronze objects were fairly plentiful, but as a rule in a poor state of preservation, while iron implements, mostly of an industrial character, were more numerous and in better condition than those found in 1907.

Thanks to the generosity of the owner of the site, Captain J. H. Cuthbert, D.S.O., the principal buildings unearthed during the past season have been left uncovered. They will be open for inspection when the excavations are resumed in July 1909.

R. H. FORSTER.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

THE 'Hellenic Revival' (the phrase is not ours) goes on merrily in America. Besides lively debates on reform of various kinds, dramatic performances make it clear that the revival is not a thing of books and pedants. At Wabash College Commencement the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was acted in English (Campbell's translation), with choral odes chanted to music 'composed by Paine.' Great care was taken with dress and staging. The Johns Hopkins Classical Club acted as a 'parlor performance' Lucian's tenth Dialogue of the Dead.

These details are taken from the December *Classical Journal*, which describes another innovation likely to make the English schoolmaster envious. At Oak Park, Ill., a new high school building is being built, which contains a special classical room, to be a home and center for their interests. It has a frieze of Flaxman drawings and a floor of marble mosaic, and is intended to appeal to the sense of beauty. This school publishes each month a Latin paper, *Latine*.

Perhaps some of our readers may be glad to know of another Latin paper, *Vox Urbis*, published monthly in Rome by Aristides Leonori, Piazza del Gesù, 48: subscription 7s. a year. Current events are discussed, and there is verse and dramatic dialogue. We regret to add that the editor's ideas of Latin verse are not those of Terence.

THOSE interested in classical education would be interested to read a paper on *Dead Bones* in the December number of *Blackwood's Magazine*. The author, who is anonymous, attacks the current system of instruction; and, unlike many critics, suggests a

remedy. Our old friend mental gymnastic reappears, together with the formation of character and organized games. On all these the writer has something new to say, or says old things in a new manner. He is the first, we think, to question the claim of a public school to form character: 'the public schools develop characteristics, and suppress character.' Will some one take up the cudgels in their defence?

MR. E. R. GARNSEY (B.A., Syd.), the author of two recent books on Horace, has read a paper before the Oxford Philological Society entitled 'The Fall of Maecenas, in its bearing on the interpretation of Horace.' The author points out that Maecenas, the brains of the new imperialism, lost Augustus's confidence, and was shelved in favour of Sallustius Crispus. This came about partly through the plot of Murena, his brother-in-law. Mr. Garnsey sees allusions in Horace to this episode, which he believes to have been a great blow to Maecenas, an ambitious man. Other allusions to the inner political situation of B.C. 23-19 are also pointed out in the paper.

PROF. POSTGATE read a paper before the British Academy on 'Flaws in Modern Classical Research.' He traces the effects of modern ways of thought and modern prejudices, morals, and taste; not least those of modern vanity, which rejects the direct statements of the ancients in favour of preconceived ideas as to what ought to be true.

THE first *Classical Quarterly* for 1909 is an unusually varied number. The longest

articles are Mr. Rice Holmes' learned discussion of a nautical problem, 'Could ancient ships work to windward?' and Mr. M'Elderry's detailed investigation of 'The Legions of the Euphrates Frontier.' Mr. C. E. Stuart gives a collation and an estimate of a new MS. of Juvenal, which the editor utilises to improve the text of a passage in Satire I. Miss D. Mason puts out a new interpretation of a place in the *Philebus*, and Mr. Richards emends a number of passages in the spurious writings of Plato. Mr. Rennie has several new suggestions on the *Acharnians*. Mr. L. Whibley writes on the Bronze Trumpeter of

Sparta in connexion with the earthquake of 464. Mr. Sturtevant controverts in part Mr. Exon's views on the senses of *dei* (*deis*) and *mei* (*meis*) in Plautus. Mr. Lindsay has a note on a reading in Ennius, Mr. Housman one on the use of *sincerus* in Lucretius III. 717, Mr. Summers further conjectures on the letters of Seneca, and Mr. Garrod some 'Manilian Miscellanies.' There are reviews by Mr. Ashby and by Mr. E. W. Brooks (of Uroth's *Byzantine Coins*). There is a notice of the death of J. H. Wright, the second associate editor that the *Quarterly* has lost within a twelvemonth.

TRANSLATION

TO CYNTHIA CONCERNING HIS BURIALL.

Propertius, iii. 5.

WHENAS my closing eyes shall make an
Ende,

Hear in what Sort my Rites to celebrate;
For me no pageantrie of Maskes shall wende;
No wailing Trumpet shall lament my Fate;
For me no ivorie-footed Bier be spread,
With *Asiatick* pride to prop the dead.

Let none those aromattick Censers bear;
A meane man's simple Buriall be mine;
Enough if those three lytel Bookes be there;
No greater Gifte I take to *Proserpine*;
And Thou wilt come with naked beaten
breast,
And crye aloud my name withouten Reste.

When the full *Syrian* box anoints the Pyre,
Then let my poore cold Lips by thine be
pressed;
My Flesh shall perish in the kindled Fire:
A litel earthen Pot will holde the reste,
And by that narrow stead the poets Bay
Shall shade the place where my slaked Ashes
lay.

There write two Rimes: The Dust that lyeth
here
Lived of one onelie Love the constant
Slave.

So Fame shall visit my poore Sepulchre
As erst the *Phthian* heroes bloudie Grave;

And when white-haired thou comest to thy
Doom,
Come unforgetfull to my speaking Tomb.

Meanwhile though there I lye disdain not me:
Not without sapience is the conscous
Earth.

Ah would that anie of the Sisters three
Had called me from the Cradel of my
Birth!

Why should I vainly hoard this dubious
Breath?
Three Generations waited *Nestor's* Death;

But had some foe on *Ilian* Bastion
Shortened the long Yeeres of his lingring
Fate,

He hadde not seen the Buriall of his Son,
Nor cryde: O Death, why comest thou so
late?

Yet wilt thou sometimes weep; the Pious say:
Love still the Lover that hath passed away.

So when the hardie Boar prevailed to slaye
Adonis hunting on the *Cyprian* Hill,
The place, 'tis said, where his white Bodye
laye

Venus with loosened tresses visits still.
Yet vainly, Cynthia, vainly wilt thou seeke
To call the silent Dead; can poudred Ashes
speak?

C. A. V.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

*** Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Alexander** (W. H.) Some textual criticisms on the Eighth Book of the De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius. (*University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, II. 1. Pp. 20. Berkeley, at the University Press. 1908.
- Anthropology and the Classics.** Six lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by Arthur J. Evans, Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, F. B. Jevons, J. L. Myres, W. Warde Fowler. Edited by R. R. Marett. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 192. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1908. Cloth, 6s. net (\$2.00).
- Aristotle.** Aristotelis Politica post Fr. Susemihlium recognovit Otto Immisch. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xl + 354. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 3; geb. in Leinwand, M. 3.50.
- The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith, M.A., and W. D. Ross, M.A. Vol. VIII. *Metaphysica*, by W. D. Ross. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 316. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1908. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net (\$2.50).
- Das Athenere Nationalmuseum.** Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze, mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos. Deutsche Ausgabe, besorgt von Dr. W. Barth. Heft 9–10. 13" $\times$ 10". Pp. 239–286. Tafeln LXXXI–C. Athen, Beck und Barth. 1908. M. 14.40.
- Becker** (Josef) Textgeschichte Luidprands von Cremona. (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, begründet von Ludwig Traube. Band III. Heft 2.) 10" $\times$ 7". Pp. 46, mit zwei Tafeln. München, Oskar Beck. 1908. M. 2.50.
- Bolchert** (Paul) Aristotelis Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen. (*Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*. Herausgegeben von W. Sieglin. Heft 15.) 10" $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x + 102. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1908. M. 3.60.
- British Museum.** Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum. By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. liv + 464, and XLIV Plates. Printed by Order of the Trustees. Sold at the British Museum, and by Longmans & Co., etc. 1908. Cloth, £2.
- Buck** (Jakob) Seneca de Beneficiis und de Clementia in der Ueberlieferung. Inaugural-Dissertation. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 84. Tübingen, J. J. Heckenhauerschen Buchhandlung. 1908.
- Bywater** (Ingram) The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors. Jerome Aleander, Aldus Manutius, Antonio de Lebrixa. A lecture by Ingram Bywater. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 27. London, Henry Frowde. 1908. 1s. net.
- Caesar.** Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, translated into English by T. Rice Holmes. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. xx + 298, and a map of Gaul. London, Macmillan & Co. 1908. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Clemen** (Prof. Lic. Dr. Carl) Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments. Die Abhängigkeit des ältesten Christentums von nichtjüdischen Religionen und philosophischen Systemen, zusammenfassend untersucht von Prof. Lic. Dr. C. C. 9" $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 302, mit 12 Abb. auf zwei Tafeln. Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. geh. M. 10; geb. M. 11.
- Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edunt E. Kalinka et A. Zingerle.**
- I. De Clausulis Minucianis et de Ciceronianis quae inveniuntur in libello de senectute, scripsit A. Ausserer. 1906.
- II. De Casuum Temporum modorum usu in ephemeride dictyisepitimi, scripsit R. Lackner. 1908.
- III. Der Artikel vor Personen- und Götternamen bei Thukydides und Herodot, von A. Pfeiffauf. 1908. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". I. pp. 96; II. pp. 56; III. pp. iv + 68. Ad Aeni Pontem in Aedibus Wagnerianis. I. M. 1.70; II. M. 1; III. M. 1.
- Crees** (J. H. E.) Claudian as an Historical Authority. [The Thirlwall Prize, 1906.] (*Cambridge Historical Essays*. No. XVII.) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. xvi + 260. Cambridge, University Press. 1908. Cloth, 4s. 6d.
- Deonna** (W.) Les 'Apollons Archaïques.' Préface de M. Henri Lechat. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 408, 9 plates, and 202 figures in text. Genève, Librairie Georg & Co. 1909. Fr. 40.
- Elsee** (Charles) Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity. An Essay by C. E. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. xii + 144. Cambridge, University Press. 1908. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Empedocles.** The Fragments of Empedocles. Translated into English verse by William Ellery Leonard, Ph.D. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 92. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co. London Agents, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1908.
- Gaius.** The Institutes of Gaius (Extracts). The Digest, Title XLV. 1. De Verborum Obligationibus. Translated by J. Graham Trapnell, B.A., LL.B. (*New Classical Library*, edited by Dr. Emil Reich.) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 158. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1908. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net; Leather, 4s. 6d. net.
- Germain de Montauzan** (C.) Les Aqueducs antiques de Lyon. Étude comparée d'archéologie romaine. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 438. With 5 plates and text illustrations. Paris, Ernest Leroux. 1909. Fr. 20.

- Germain de Montauzan* (C.) Essai sur la Science et l'Art de l'ingénieur aux premiers siècles de l'Empire Romain. 10" × 6½". Pp. xviii + 124. Paris, Ernest Leroux. 1909. Fr. 7.
- Giarratano* (Caesar) De M. Val. Martialis re Metrica, scripsit C. G. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 88. Neapoli apud Detken et Rocholl. 1908.
- Havet* (Louis) Philologie et Linguistique. Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet par ses anciens élèves et ses amis à l'occasion du 60^e Anniversaire de sa Naissance le 6 janvier, 1909. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 624. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1909.
- Helbig* (W.) Zur Geschichte der hasta donatica. (Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Band X. Nro. 3.) 11" × 9". Pp. 46, mit 2 Tafeln und 6 Figuren im Text. Berlin, Weidmann. 1908. M. 7.
- Herodotus*. Herodoti Historiae. Libri I-IV, V-IX, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Carolus Hude, Ph.D. Tom. I and II. (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.) 7½" × 5". Pp. 416 (?). Pp. 432 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1908. Each, paper covers, 4s.; cloth, 4s. 6d. Vols. I and II together on India paper, 12s. 6d.
- Herodotus, Books VII and VIII. Edited with introduction and notes by Charles Forster Smith and Arthur Gordon Laird. (Greek Series for Colleges and Schools.) 7½" × 5". Pp. 442. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, American Book Co. 1908. Cloth, ca. \$1.40.
- Hesiod*. Hesiod, the Poems and Fragments done into English Prose, with introduction and appendices, by A. W. Mair, M.A. (The Oxford Library of Translations.) 7½" × 4¾". Pp. xlvi + 174. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1908. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Hymenaeus*. A Comedy acted at St. John's College, Cambridge. Now first printed with an introduction and notes by G. C. Moore Smith, Litt.D. 6¾" × 4¾". Pp. xvi + 84. Cambridge, University Press. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
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ERRATA.

The following corrections have to be made in Mr. Lendrum's letter, which by an oversight was not submitted to him in proof:

- P. 261, line 4, for 'minimal' read 'minimae.'
 P. 261, line 21, for 'Monro' read 'Munro.'
 P. 262, line 18, for 'light' read 'sight.'
 P. 262, line 38, for 'on that sphere except in' read 'in that sphere except as.'
 P. 262, line 70, for 'this size for the mental contemplations' read 'their size for the mental contemplation.'
 P. 262, line 85, for 'host' read 'least.'
 P. 262, line 89, for 'fattos' read 'fatto.'
 P. 262, line 90, for 'fatti' read 'fatta.'

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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE AIMS OF CLASSICAL STUDY.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

NOTHING could be more satisfactory to those who are anxious that English education should be of the best than that the necessity of some agreement as to our ultimate aims is coming to be realised. In *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* Dr. Rouse writes: 'In reading the various essays of those who defend or assail the study of classics, the thought is often suggested that the writers often argue on different assumptions. Each on occasion will allude to the aims of the study, but these aims are not always the same. It is fortunate, therefore, that this year the question has begun to be discussed.'

It is obvious that a branch of education with so many diversely attractive interests may be pursued with very diverse aims, and I have heard it seriously argued that each teacher should be left with a free hand to teach in the direction of his special interests, since he will then be more likely to enlist the enthusiasm of his pupils. I cannot assent to this principle, for it is plain that the same argument would require us to allow each teacher to teach or not to teach any and every subject according to his own predilections, and, while this may be justified in the eyes of an individualist, the interests of the community make it imperative that the subjects taught and the aim in teaching

them shall be determined in the main apart from the teacher's tastes, even if the result be some loss in enthusiasm.

The questions, then, with which educationists interested in classical study are concerned are these: With what aims can Latin or Greek be studied, and with what results? Are these results all or in part indispensable to the majority of well-educated men and women in England to-day? are all or some of them only of interest as hobbies? And, finally, in view of the answers to these questions, the further question requires attention, with what aim should Latin and Greek or either of them be studied, if at all, by boys in Public Schools?

First, then, Latin and Greek may be studied, we may say, either as literature or as supplying the key to art, to political science, to ethics and metaphysics, to the history of Western civilization, to the history of Christianity, or again as a fascinating branch of science, whether in the department of palaeography, or of textual criticism and interpretation, or of archaeology prehistoric or historical, of numismatics, of grammar, or any of their subdivisions. These aims have only to be stated thus plainly for the impartial thinker to decide immediately that many of them, however attractive, are not indispensable. Even if we confine our attention to

those who are not to be trained in a primary school—and throughout this paper, I may say, I am not thinking of primary education—still there are amongst the aims just mentioned many which it is not even desirable that all pupils alike should have set before them. Various classes of students may pursue various selections from these aims. To take one instance, the University Extension student may desire some first-hand acquaintance with the masterpieces of Greek literature, and this aim will determine the order and method of his approaching the subject.

But, apart from the hobbies of later life, there is a type of culture which it is to the interest of the community to require in every member of those classes from which the Public Schools draw their pupils—*i.e.*, roughly, in all professional and public men. Unless this type be clearly determined and justified on intelligible principles, we shall never have any lasting agreement as to whether or how Latin and Greek are to be studied in the Public Schools. To me, at any rate, this type of culture requires first, an adequate command of our own language; secondly, a reasonable acquaintance with the facts of Nature and with the current theories to coordinate them; thirdly, some literary and, if possible, some artistic taste; fourthly, a tolerable knowledge of the course taken by civilization in its development; fifthly, a sufficient comprehension of the problems which have confronted and still confront men in politics, ethics, and metaphysics; and lastly, some power of conversing on everyday topics in at least one foreign language. Experience convinces me that this type can be secured in ordinary boys who remain at school till 17 or 18 years of age, if they are properly taught from the first—the failures¹ almost invariably have been improperly taught in the years before they reach the Public School.

If this ultimate aim be conceded—and I have not space here to defend it or to show

¹ For them and for those who will not remain to the age I have named, the ordinary scheme of work on the classical side of a school is neither suitable nor intended. Our five aims can, however, still be carried out for them. And with a return to the true classical system many difficulties would vanish.

that it is in modern terms the aim proposed by our forefathers after the Revival of Letters—it is easy to fix the object with which Latin and Greek must be learnt. It will be observed that a study of the original tongues is not in this case indispensable. Dr. Rouse guessed (*School*, x. p. 98) that this might follow from my principles, but he assumed that therefore this study was indefensible as a method of attaining our ends. By all means let those who can afford to make the experiment try other methods; but for myself, I can only repeat my conviction that the experiments of the last two thousand years are sufficient to show that our first, third, fourth, and fifth ends are most easily secured, and most economically, by the old method of studying Latin and Greek, if the old method be understood to mean that translation into good English is that part of the study without which the whole is unjustifiable. The reader will have seen for himself that our fourth and fifth ends necessitate a knowledge of the great Greek and Latin writers at least in translations, and, since two other ends can be secured by the mere additional labour of making acquaintance with the original, this labour, it has been proved, is the best way to those ends.

Before passing on, it is necessary to say a word as to our second end,—the gaining of a reasonable acquaintance with the facts of Nature and with the current theories to coordinate them. Any one familiar with the history of classical learning is aware that down to the time of Bacon, Greek and Latin authors were read partly with this object. As modern discoveries increased, the authors who dealt with such subjects rightly fell out of the range of classical reading. Unfortunately, modern authors were not prescribed to take their place, and it is to this fact very largely that the disastrous narrowness of many classical scholars may be attributed, and in consequence the obscuration of the true aim of Public School classics. ‘Scholarship,’ in a word, superseded culture. This obscuration seems, indeed, to have become prevalent not earlier than the beginning of the last century, if we may judge by two significant facts. One is that Lord Byron at Harrow was not shut out, by the method

of education then followed there, from an enthusiastic intimacy with English literature. The other is one to which the centenary of Corunna has called public attention. A public school man of the eighteenth century taken practically haphazard (for it was the fact of his two superior officers being incapacitated which devolved the duty upon him) wrote a report of that fight which, it has been claimed, is comparable with Caesar's Commentaries. After the eighteenth century, as I have before argued (*School*, x. p. 77), many classical teachers wandered from the way, and the essential aim of translation into good English was forgotten. How deep-seated the error has become, has been curiously illustrated by the Index to *The Year's Work*, where I am represented as writing 'on *construing*'!

Further to clear the air, it may be well to state that from this point of view Greek and Latin composition (apart from the elementary drill designed to hasten the acquisition of grammar rules and of vocabulary) must be looked on as little but a pretty exercise of the intellect,—but very fascinating to many boys, and extremely helpful towards our third end of literary taste. Experience has convinced me that verses can be mastered with infinitely greater economy of time and with equal success if boys do not begin them till they have read a great deal of the classical poets. Without doubt the principle is true of prose also.

One objection deserves to be met. It has been often argued that the classics supply an unrivalled means towards the awakening of literary taste, and apologists have been found ready to stake the case of classics on this claim. Englishmen in the mass, however, will never be convinced that Shakespeare as literature is not superior to the three Greek dramatists together; that Burke is not greater than Demosthenes (and what Public School classics make much account of the other orators?); and that the Bible in the Authorized Version is not more than Homer. And, if Aristotle be added on the classical side, it will be pointed out that he is not read for his style, so that for the average man a translation suffices, as it may for Thucydides. Or, if Thucydides' style is commended, we have Froude and Macaulay,

to say nothing of Clarendon. Plato alone is, doubtless, inimitable, but his single charms cannot outweigh the English Milton, Ruskin, and Thackeray, and if we add to Plato Cicero, Vergil, Caesar, and Horace, the balance is still redressed by Milton's verse and a score of other authors.

It will be noticed that the names which naturally suggest themselves on the classical side are mainly Greek, and this supports the view that, if experience proves that the timetable must be lightened, the sound method of doing so is by abandoning the study of Latin in the original, while our second, fourth, and fifth aims must be sought so far as Latin is concerned by means of translations. But at present there is no evidence that this is needed. What is needed is rather the speedy return to the true old aims of studying Latin and Greek,—first, oral composition in English during translation hours,—this first since it is the aim which specially legitimates the study of the original languages rather than of translations; then,¹ familiarity with history, ancient and English; immersion in philosophical thought in its widest sense; and development of literary and artistic feeling; and finally, introduction to the natural science of to-day; and this last, I may add, not in the futile fashion, attempted in the last century, of chemistry and physics lessons, but more in the form of good University Extension Lectures on astronomy, biology, and most departments of natural science.

Such aims as I have sketched correspond, it is not unfair to say, with that 'something broader, and, to our mind, more inspiring' which the critic in the *Athenaeum*, whom Dr. Rouse quotes, desires when he writes, 'A mental atmosphere is the aim; literature is subordinate to that; and in its turn, grammar is subordinate to the reading of authors . . . it spells the possibility of culture, gained by means of a wide range of information acting on the imagination.'

T. NICKLIN.

¹ The relative importance of these ends and the order in time that they may take in making their appeal to pupils, will vary with different boys. That different aims appeal at different ages has been well pointed out in the *Outlook*, 31 Jan. 1909, by a reviewer of Dr. Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*.

THE DEATH OF CYRSILUS, *ALIAS* LYCIDES.

A PROBLEM IN AUTHORITIES.

FEW events so remote as the year 479 B.C., and perhaps none relating to the fate of an individual person, are so well known to us and so fully attested, as the vengeance taken by the Athenians on the unfortunate councillor, who ventured to recommend for consideration the proposal of Mardonius, that Athens, upon favourable terms for herself, should make peace with the king of Persia and abandon the common cause of the Greek nation. We possess three notices of it, two summary and one full, which have, all of them, high pretensions to authenticity. Of the two summaries, one at least is derived directly from an official document almost contemporary with the event itself. The fuller account is not indeed thus warranted, and may be supposed rather to depend on oral relation; but our narrator must have had and used the opportunity of consulting eye-witnesses. All three accounts may be combined without difficulty, and, except in one unimportant detail, exhibit no discrepancy.

The outline of the story is this. The Persian proposal was laid before the Athenian Council by an envoy sent from Athens to the island of Salamis. Here the Athenians, or so many of them as had ventured to return to their homes upon the retreat of Xerxes in the year before, had again taken refuge, when Mardonius, after wintering in Boeotia, had re-occupied the desolate city. One councillor, apparently alone, moved that the terms offered should be referred to the Assembly. By the exasperated patriotism of his colleagues this advice was regarded as treacherous and corrupt; and such was their indignation, that, upon the rising of the Council, they and others joined in stoning him to death. The Athenian women, upon hearing what had occurred, were seized with a like fury, rushed to the man's house, and killed in the same manner his wife and his children. These proceedings became the subject of a decree (*psephisma*). The text of this document is not preserved, nor its purpose specified; but since it is cited as

approving what was done, we can hardly be wrong in supposing that it was designed to put a legal face upon the matter, and to prevent the perilous consequences likely to arise out of acts which, however popular, were in law nothing better than murders.

In all these facts our three authorities, Herodotus (9. 4), Lycurgus (*contr. Leocratem* 122), and Demosthenes (*de corona* 204), so far as they go, concur,—Demosthenes not less than the others, as shall presently be shown. The decree is mentioned by Lycurgus only, who cites it, though the quotation, as usual, is omitted in our copies of his speech. He describes it as 'concerning' or 'relating to the man who came to his end in Salamis' (*περὶ τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτήσαντος*),—a phrase which could not naturally be used of a sentence to death, but only of an enactment 'concerning' the death, that is to say, relating to it *ex post facto*. With this agree the allusion of Demosthenes, which implies,¹ and the story of Herodotus, which asserts, that the man and his family were not regularly executed, but lynched. Doubtless therefore this is the meaning of Lycurgus also, though in saying that 'the Council' stoned the man, and that before doing so they 'took off their wreaths', he colours the act with certain touches of solemnity. The participation of persons from the Council, as individuals, is affirmed by Herodotus; the colours of Lycurgus come probably from the decree, which, if designed, as we must suppose, to give a retrospective sanction, naturally put upon what had been done the most plausible construction which it would bear. The act of the women, the killing of the wife and the children, cannot possibly have been legalized *a priori*; and it is plain, upon all three accounts, that the killing of the man, however the decree may have coloured it, was also a mere act of popular vengeance and equally without formal justification. We may doubt indeed, though we need not here discuss, whether at this date any Athenian court would have

¹ By including the action of the women, which cannot have been legal.

deliberately awarded, for a lawful expression of opinion, a species of punishment which an Athenian poet, only twenty years later, classes with impalement and other tortures, as a barbarity fit only for fiends.¹ However that may be, our authorities agree in showing that upon this occasion there was no legal award.

It is extremely important to note, for reasons which will presently appear, that Demosthenes, though he does not mention the decree and has no need to do so, cannot reasonably or fairly be supposed ignorant of it. The allusions of both orators are so introduced as to convey the impression that in their time the case, and the public pronouncement on it, as examples of the fervency of Athenian patriotism, were notorious and celebrated. And when we consider what were the character, vocation, and pursuits of Demosthenes, it is beyond belief that he was not acquainted, and perfectly familiar, with a document so remarkable and in all respects so interesting to him as this. We may presume then, and must necessarily presume, that the account of the affair, which he gives in the most famous and finished of his compositions, is consistent, so far as it goes, with the authoritative record. In the case of Herodotus there is of course no such presumption. He was neither lawyer nor consulter of archives; and although the decree, being no part of the story as a story, would not perhaps have interested him much if he had heard of it, we may suppose more probably that he never did. Nevertheless, as to the main and material facts, his graphic narrative agrees perfectly with his more learned successors. His conception of the event is just that which we might have formed by combining the data of Lycurgus and Demosthenes, and discarding their flourishes. One addition he makes, though it cannot be called a discrepancy. He tells us, as the climax of the terrible tale, what neither of the orators chooses to comprise in his encomiastic allusion,—that the crowd of enraged women pelted to death not only the wife of the delinquent, but also his children :

¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 189. It seems, however, to have been a possible punishment; see Macan on Herod. *l.c.*

κατὰ μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔλευσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα. Lycurgus refers to the man only, Demosthenes only to the adults. Their motives are obvious; and their reticences afford no reason to doubt, that the recital of the decree, if we had it, would be found to confirm the completeness and candour of the historian.

In one detail only, and that not affecting the substance of the narrative, Herodotus disagrees with those who had access to the document; and here he must have been misinformed. The name of the offender, according to Demosthenes, who had for it the testimony of the *psephisma*, was Cyrsilus (Κύρσιλος). Herodotus gives it as Lycides (Λυκίδης). Whether his variation may be accounted for, we will consider presently. But if it cannot, if it is a mere error, there is nothing in it to raise difficulty or suspicion. In things of no significance, the best oral tradition will be inaccurate; and in this case the personality of the victim was apparently of no significance. It is not alleged that, apart from his fate, he had any importance, nor does the story imply it. In Lycurgus he is actually anonymous—ὁ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτήσας. That Herodotus should have picked up a wrong name is not surprising and hardly worth notice.

Let us repeat then, and firmly remember, that this instructive incident, in its substance and essential features, is absolutely certain. It must have happened when, where, and as these authorities assert. Evidence so authentic and concordant would outweigh much improbability. But there is no improbability. The Athenians of Salamis and Plataea were incomparably the most civilised people of the time. But they were not more civilised, or more immune from excesses of passion, than the Hollanders of the seventeenth century, who, in a crisis not dissimilar, tore in pieces the innocent and illustrious De Witt.

Where then, it will be asked, is the problem? Why, in editions of Herodotus or the *de corona*, is the story treated as a puzzle? Why are there histories in which it is canvassed as dubious, or even altogether omitted? The cause is remarkable and worthy of curious attention.

In the *de officiis* of Cicero (3. 11. § 48) the anecdote is cited as follows: 'The Athenians, being unable to withstand the Persian invader, determined to abandon their city, *putting their wives and children in Troezen, and themselves on board the fleet, which was to defend at sea the liberties of Greece*; and they stoned to death one Cyrsilus, who advised that they *should remain in Athens and should admit Xerxes*.' Now between this version and that of the Greek authors, no conciliation is possible. Cicero has changed almost every circumstance,—the date, the place, the position of the Athenians at the time. Above all, he changes the essential matter, the proposal of Cyrsilus and the connexion of his conduct with his fate. According to Cicero, the proposal was, that in the year 480, and before Salamis, the Athenians should submit wholly and unconditionally to the king of Persia. Nothing is said of any offer to them from Xerxes, nor indeed would it be credible that, before Salamis, any offer was made. Athens and Attica, with their population, were to be surrendered to the king and the army then under his command, a surrender which would have extinguished the state as a factor in resistance, so that the naval force of Hellas would have been practically annihilated, and, as Cicero plainly and necessarily supposes, no sea defence whatever could have been made. How such a submission could have been 'advantageous (*utile*)' for Athens, is not apparent; but certainly it would have been, in the highest degree, 'dishonourable'. Moreover (a point more vital yet) we are told that by Cyrsilus the submission was recommended. But in Herodotus the Athenian councillor is not so committed. Mardonius offers, in consideration of a separate peace, to respect the independence of Athens, and to give her what territory she chooses to ask (Herod. 8. 140, 9. 4). The offer is made to 'the Council', and the proposal of the councillor is simply that it should be referred to the Assembly. To treat this as a proof of treason was a mere extravagance, a frenzy of popular enthusiasm; and Herodotus expressly allows that the conduct of the councillor may have been honest. But the Ciceronian proposal,

that Athens should accept slavery without striking a blow, without reward, and with every reason to expect the severest treatment, would have gone near to prove treason (if not rather insanity), and the execution of the proposer might well have followed in course of law, as Cicero would let us think that it did.

But the disagreement of Cicero with the Greek authorities would of course not suffice to impeach them, or to throw upon them any shadow of doubt. It would be enough to say that his statement, improbable upon the face of it, is proved by history to be altogether erroneous. We need not even ask how he came by his mistake. He is mistaken, and there we might leave him. Why then, we have still to ask, have the Greek authorities been treated as dubious?

Because it is said, and repeated in book after book, that, on the essential point of date, Cicero is supported by Demosthenes: that Demosthenes also puts the affair of Cyrsilus before the battle of Salamis, and represents the offers, which Cyrsilus wished to accept or to consider, as having been made by Xerxes during his march upon Athens in the year 480.

Now, if this were so, we should have a problem indeed, and a problem hopeless of any satisfactory solution. Both Herodotus and Demosthenes, for different reasons, are in this matter authorities of the greatest weight. Yet to accept both, if in substance they differ, and to suppose that an incident so remarkable was repeated, with no other variation than the name of the principal victim, in two successive years, is an escape not worth discussion. The logical and practical conclusion would be that, for the most interesting part of Greek history, we have no trustworthy witnesses at all.

But we are in no such position. It is not true that the blunders of Cicero are supported by Demosthenes. It is true that they can be read into Demosthenes. But that is an injury to the orator, who says nothing which is not consistent with the truth as it appears in the other Greek testimonies.

Demosthenes says (*de corona* 204) that the Athenians had the endurance (*ὑπέμειναν*)

to abandon their country and city, and take to their ships, rather than do what the Persians required of them; and he adds, in proof of their resolution and stubbornness, that 'they elected Themistocles, the adviser of this (course), for their *strategos*, and stoned to death Cyrsilus, who suggested compliance.' Now, if this were our only account of the matter, and if we knew nothing about the history of the time, we might doubtless suppose that these two facts, the advice of Themistocles and the suggestion of Cyrsilus, were contemporaneous, and therefore that the latter as well as the former took place in the year 480.

But why should we so suppose, since it was not the fact, and since not only Demosthenes, but many or most of his audience and readers, must have known that it was not the fact? Demosthenes does not say so. The abandonment of Attica and Athens extended (in effect) from the summer of 480 to the autumn of 479, from before the battle of Salamis until after the battle of Plataea. Demosthenes here speaks of it, quite correctly, as one single course or action, disregarding, as in such a retrospect is natural, whatever precarious and temporary re-occupation may have occurred in the winter between. The facts which he subjoins are given as illustrations of the resolution with which this painful policy was adopted and pursued. The election of Themistocles marks the deliberate adoption of it; the treatment of Cyrsilus displays the passionate adherence to it in spite of bitter experience. To suppose the two facts contemporaneous is not only unnecessary to the purpose of the orator, but unsuitable; since the two together would then only show the high spirit of the Athenians before the trial, and not their perseverance in enduring it.

Nor is Demosthenes incorrect or inaccurate when, in a passage preceding (§ 202), he says that the offers, by which Athens was tempted to abandon the cause of Hellas, came 'from the King of Persia' (*παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως*). He does not thereby say or suggest that they were made by Xerxes during his personal campaign in the year 480. The offers of Mardonius in the following winter and spring, the offers recom-

mended for consideration by Cyrsilus, were made on behalf of the king, by his express sanction and command (Herod. 8. 140, and by reference 9. 4), and of course would not otherwise have been worth attention. The terms offered are described by Demosthenes as they are by Herodotus; he translates Herodotus, we may say, into language of his own.¹ There is no reason therefore to doubt, that it is to the offers made by Xerxes through Mardonius, the only offers ever made, that Demosthenes refers; and he speaks truly when he says that, rather than accept them, the Athenians (for the second time) abandoned their country.

But though the statements of Demosthenes are true, they are ambiguous, and would easily be misunderstood by a reader having no external information. Probably they misled Cicero, or the intermediary person, if there was one, by whom Cicero was misled. For this ambiguity, as for any, two different causes may be suggested. It might be thought intentional. Demosthenes, it might be said, was willing to hint what he dares not assert, namely, that Athens, though she received no offers from Persia before the battle of Salamis, might then or at any time have obtained advantages at the expense of Hellas, if she had chosen to ask for them. But there is an alternative supposition, more candid and more reasonable, that the ambiguity, unperceived by Demosthenes, was possible to him, because the facts were notorious, and the false construction, the construction of Cicero, not thinkable. It never occurred to Demosthenes as imaginable (and why should it have occurred?), that Xerxes, before receiving any check, would have consented to favour, or even to spare, the state which was the chief object of his vengeance. Unfortunately Cicero was capable of this confusion; and, still more unfortunately, Cicero has misled others, who, but for him, would have done Demosthenes the justice of taking his words, as they may be taken, consistently with the notorious facts of history.

¹ Herod. 8. 140 τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφί ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην ἐλῆσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι. Demosth. *de cor.* 202 οὔτι βούλεται λαβούση καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐχούση.

With this observation the historical problem disappears. The date given by Cicero for the stoning of Cyrillus is a blunder, a misreading of the *de corona*. Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Herodotus all give, or admit, the true date, after Salamis and in the year of Plataea; and they agree in all other respects, except that Herodotus gives the name of the victim not as Cyrillus (which it was) but as Lycides.

It remains only to consider, whether the name Lycides is, as it well may be, a mere error, or whether it admits of explanation. Is it not possibly a patronymic? There was such a name as Lycus (Λύκος). May not Λυκίδης represent ὁ Λύκου? We cannot, of course, suppose that Herodotus so understood it. But if it were, in this sense, applicable to Cyrillus, it may well have been used for its significance (*wolfing*) by those

who stoned him for treachery. It is even possible, in that age of omens, that this ill-sounding name contributed to his horrible fate. Herodotus himself (7. 180) makes a like conjecture about one Leon (*lion*), who was killed by the Persians as a sacrificial victim, possibly, as the historian supposes, because of the name. His conjecture, whatever it may prove about the Persians, is significant as to the feelings of a Greek. If thus explained, the τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκίδης would be not precisely an error, but a misapprehension. But upon this we need not speculate. In any case the misnomer, corrected (from the documentary evidence) by Demosthenes, is no reason for questioning the narrative of Herodotus, or for raising any doubts respecting an incident unimpeachably certified.

A. W. VERRALL.

κλισίαις ὄμμι' ἔχων

(*Ajax*, 191).

IN *C.R.* xix. 150 I attempted to show that ἦκοι ἄν means *must have come*. All Cis-Atlantic scholars whom I have consulted accept my interpretation. Pearson, in the abridged edition of Jebb, just issued from the press, refers to my article, but evidently gives preference to the rendering *must come*. In this paper I shall discuss the remainder of the antistrophe, and particularly the phrase κλισίαις ὄμμι' ἔχων, which I shall endeavour to show does not mean 'keeping thy face hidden in the tent.'

There seems to be a tendency among scholars to render ὄμμα in the tragic poets by 'face,' where the sense, I think, requires the meaning of 'eye.' So in *C.R.* xvii. 430 I tried to prove that τέτραπται in Eur. *Hipp.* 246 means 'my eye has turned,' not 'my face has changed' (Ellershaw), 'die gesichtsfarbe schlägt um' (Wilamowitz). Mr. W. Rhys Roberts sent me additional illustrations of my point from the tract *De Sublimitate*; and I have since found numerous examples of the construction and the idea in both the

earlier and the later literature.¹ Now there is a certain affinity between the two passages—ideas as well as constructions are analogous.

Jebb remarks that 'κλισίαις is a locative dat. The adv. ὧδ' helps to suggest the idea of "hidden".' The great English scholar here, as the German scholar in the Euripidean verse, feels convinced that ὄμμα connotes, not ὀφθαλμός, but πρόσωπον. Nevertheless, Jebb was evidently haunted by the lurking suspicion that after all ὄμμα may signify *oculus* rather than *os*; for he adds at once: 'the objections to the version "keeping thine eyes fixed on the tents" are (1) that ἔχων could not well stand for ἐπέχων, and (2) that the seclusion of Ajax within the tent is not then expressed.'

Dismissing Riske's conjecture (ἐμμένων) as unnecessary, let us examine at once Jebb's first objection. If ἔχων could not stand for

¹ E.g. Plato, *Rep.* 518 D; Eur. *I.A.* 994; Plutarch, *Mor.* 346 C; *Caes.* 22; *Marcel.* 27; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Antiq.* 233; Heliod. 2. 33.

ἐπέχων, it could not stand for προσέχων—as, e.g. in the ordinary phrase νοῦν προσέχων. Indeed this substitution would be much more likely to be avoided by the Greek, since νοῦν ἔχων commonly connotes a totally different idea from νοῦν προσέχων; as Plato, *Polit.* 285 D, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθέλησε νοῦν ἔχων. When a man gets sense (Soph. *O.C.* 1256), he hath understanding. But νοῦν ἔχων is occasionally employed as an equivalent to νοῦν προσέχων (at least nearly so): Plato, *Theag.* 129 C, ἀνέστη οὐκέτι εἰπὼν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ λαθὼν ἐπιτηρήσας ἄλλοσε τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα. This is practically the same idea as inheres in the phrase ὅμμ' ἔχων (ἄλλοσε). Cp. II 179, ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὅμματα. Then, again, we find πρόσ sometimes so far removed from ἔχειν that the verb seems to coalesce with the noun, forming a temporary compound equivalent to νοῦν προσέχειν. The direction of the thought is expressed by means of the preposition separate and apart from ἔχειν, and combined with the object alone, as e.g. in Plato, *Gorg.* 504 D, πρὸς τοῦτο αἰετὸν νοῦν ἔχων. Cp. *Crit.* 109 E, πρὸς οἷς ἡπόρουν τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες. In Ar. *Pax*, 174 we find even πρόσσεχε τὸν νοῦν ὡς ἐμέ. True, ὅμμ' ἔχων can signify *possessing* an ὅμμα (Soph. *Phil.* 171; Aesch. *Prom.* 570, 795; *Sept.* 537), but it may also mean 'directing the eye.' Cp. Soph. *Tr.* 272, ἄλλοσ' αὐτὸν ὅμμα, θατέρω δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντα (both *eye* and *mind* with ἔχω in this sense in the same verse); *Fr. Com. Graec.* (Kock, vol. 2, p. 249), ὅπου τις ἀλγεί, κείσε τὸν νοῦν ἔχει; Cratinus, *Pytine*, πρὸς ἐτέραν γυναῖκα ἔχων τὸν νοῦν; Eur. *I.T.* 372, λεπτῶν ὅμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων ἔχουσα (= βλέπουσα, as in the passage we are discussing); *I.A.* 994; Xen. *De Venat.* 25, βλέπει δὲ οὐκ ὀξύ . . . τά τε γὰρ ὅμματα ἔχει ἕξω. The mind can be turned in a certain direction and kept fixed there. So in Eur. *I.T.* 1322 the messenger says, μὴ νταῦθα τρέψης σὴν φρέν(α). Cp. Ar. *Eccl.* 156, ποῦ τὸν νοῦν ἔχεις; *Thesm.* 902, στρέψον κόρας; Plato, *Rep.* 530 D, πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν ὅμματα πέπηγεν; Eur. *Ion*, 251, οἴκοι δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον ἐνθάδ' οὔσα περ; 582, τί πρὸς γῶν ὅμμα σὸν βαλὼν ἔχεις; Or. 1181, ἄκουε δὴ νυν καὶ σὺ δέυρο νοῦν ἔχε; 1418, τὸν νοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχων, ἐκείσε δέ; Arrian, *An.* 2. 5. 5, πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον; Thuc. 3.

22. 5, ὅπως ἤκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν; Thuc. 3. 25. 2, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦσσαν εἶχον τὴν γνώμην.

Now, Ajax is παρὰ σκηναῖσιν (984) and refuses to leave this locality; he has turned his eye, ὦδ' ἐφάλοις κλισίαις, and is keeping it fixed there (like Achilles sulking in his tent), paying no attention to his friends, but brooding by himself on the shore. There his heart and soul and mind are centred. Hence the mariners entreat him in the next breath to rouse himself and come forth (ἄνα ἕξ ἐδράνων). And ὦδε means (in spite of Meineke) 'in this place,' or 'in this direction,' as well as 'in this way'; and the Salaminian sailors are not disposed to take kindly to their leader's determination to brood over his troubles by the lonely shore with his eye fixed ὦδε at the tent ἐφ' ἀλί, when it should be turned ὦδε (196) out toward the open plain, where the insolence of his foes stalks abroad with increasing might and mischief, in that it receives no attention (τὸ σὸν ὅμμ' ἀπέδραν, 167) from the very man who could, if he would, put it down. They are powerless without the aid of the δεινὸς μέγας ὠμοκρατὴς Ἀἴας (166). But if he would only come forth, these mocking foes would cower mute with fear (171). The mariners' prayer is simple. They desire their mighty chief to look hither (ὦδε, where they have just been), instead of ὦδε (where they now are)—οὔτος, βλέφ' ὦδε (*Tr.* 402). This does not exclude the notion of 'thus.' Both ideas may be englished by 'this way.' Cp. *O.C.* 1547, τῇδ' ὦδε τῇδε βάτε.

The phrase ἐφάλοις κλισίαις, then, does not necessarily signify 'within the tent by the sea.' The case is locative, but κλισίαις to the Greek conveyed only the general idea 'at the tent' (the sailors do not know exactly where their chieftain is) without specifying whether the τόπος designated was outside or inside. So περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν and περὶ τὴν ὕλην, like their English equivalents, do not indicate the exact locality. Ajax is somewhere about the tent on the shore—ὅπου ποτέ, as the mariners themselves declare in the next sentence. If the poet had intended to emphasize the fact (which the chorus learns later—344, ἀνοίγετε) that Ajax was hidden

in the tent, he would, in all probability, have employed a preposition to bring out clearly this idea, as in other parts of the play: 7 (ἐνδον), 65 (κατ' οἴκου), 73 (στειλε δωμάτων πάρος), 76 (ἐνδον . . . μένων), 105

(ἔσω), 218 (σκηναῖς ἐνδον), 305 (ἐς δόμους). But he desired to express simply the thought that the sire here, as later the son (984), was μόνος παρὰ σκηναῖσιν.

J. E. HARRY.

NOTES

TWO CLASSICAL PARALLELS.

THE two following parallels, whether coincidences or reminiscences, seem sufficiently noteworthy to interest those who, like Prof. Mustard and Prof. Shorey, take a pleasure in illustrating classical by English authors.

1. Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality* (in my copy printed 'Imitations of Immortality'):

The man at last perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day.

Lucan, *Phars.* v. 219 sq. of the Pythian prophethess:

dumque a luce sacra, qua uidit fata, refertur
ad uolgare iubar, mediae uenere tenebrae.

2. Tennyson, *The Eagle*:

The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls;
He watches from his mountain walls,
And like a thunderbolt he falls.

Apuleius, *Florida*, ii. (p. 146, de Vliet):

inde cuncta despiciens ibidem pinnarum eminus¹
indefessa remigia ac paulisper cunctabundo uolatu
paene eodem loco pendula circumtuetur et quaerit
quorsus potissimum in praedam superne sese ruat
fulminis uicem de caelo inprouisa.

The distinctness of the Latin and the allusiveness of the English are both characteristic. I wonder how many people read Tennyson without observing what the eagle was watching: Apuleius will tell them.

J. P. POSTGATE.

TACITUS, *ANN.* iv. 33.

In chapters 32 and 33 Tacitus is speaking deprecatingly of the scope and subject-matter

¹ *eminens* Kronenberg, *Classical Quarterly*, ii. p. 312.

of his *Annals* as compared with the work of other historians. 'Sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit qui veteres populi Romani res composuere.' He then goes on to say why he considers such a species of composition useful, and adds: 'Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. Nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, . . . coniungimus.'

I would see in the words *situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus* an indirect reference to his own earlier historical writings—in *situs gentium* to the largely geographical and ethnological *Germania*; in *varietates proeliorum* to the *Histories*, in which the extent to which the military interest predominates is shown by the fact that the four and a half extant books deal almost entirely with the battle-laden years 69 and 70. As the total number of books was at the most fourteen, perhaps only twelve, and the number of years covered eighteen, the very disproportionate amount of space given to the years when the interest is mainly military, suggests that the description of battles was the leading characteristic of the work. In *clari ducum exitus* I would see an allusion to the *Agricola*. If this is so, one might perhaps legitimately infer that Tacitus himself felt that he had done a specially fine piece of work in the concluding chapters of the *Agricola*.

As to the order of quotation, there is much to be said for the theory of Münzer (*Die Entstehung der Historien des Tacitus*, Leipzig, 1901; *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1906, vol. xxvi. No. 40, p. 1253) that the composition

of the *Histories* began much earlier than used to be assumed, and may even have occupied Tacitus in the fifteen silent years following the publication of the dialogue on oratory.

RACHEL E. WEDD.

THEOCRITUS, *IDYLL* I. 136.

‘νῦν δ’ ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε, βάτοι, φορέοιτε δ’
ἄκανθαι,
ἀ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ’ ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι·
πάντα δ’ ἑναλλα γένοιντο, καὶ ἀ πίτυς ὄχνας
ἐνείκαι,
Δάφνις ἐπεὶ θνάσκει, καὶ τὰς κύνας ὠλαφος
ἔλκοι,
κῆξ ὀρέων τοὶ σκῶπες ἀηδόσι γαρεύσαιντο.’

Most commentators agree in finding difficulty in the last line; ἐξ ὀρέων does not seem to have much point; γαρεύσαιντο must be intolerably strained to give any sense, and even granting that γηγρύεσθαι can be taken as = ἐρίζειν, can the meaning be considered satisfactory? Surely what is required by the sense of the passage is some definite inversion of nature's laws, such as are the examples in the preceding lines. The owl may always be said to hoot to the nightingale, as both birds are vocal by night.

I would therefore suggest reading κῆξ ὄρθρων in place of κῆξ ὀρέων.

‘From cock-crow onwards let the owls call to the nightingales,’

the anomaly being that the *night-birds* are to sing by *day* instead of by night. The plural ὄρθροι would thus be = *habitually*. A precisely similar use of ὄρθροι (plural) is found in Eur. *El.* 909 :

καὶ μὴν δι’ ὄρθρων γ’ οὐποτ’ ἐξελίμπανον
θρυλοῦσα.

Other instances of a similar use of the plural are: Aesch. *Cho.* 288, μάταιος ἐκ νυκτῶν φόβος; Hom. *Od.* 12. 286, ἐκ νυκτῶν δ’ ἄνεμοι χαλεποί; Theogn. 460, ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

This reading would give the required natural anomaly, unless the objection is raised that Theocritus ought to have been

aware that nightingales at any rate do sing by day. If we read κῆξ ὄρθρων it also becomes unnecessary either to reject γαρεύσαιντο or strain its sense.

For dawn as the time for the change of shift—when the day-birds take up the tune—cf. Hesiod, *W. and D.* 568, ὄρθρογῆ χειλιδῶν (if this is the form to be read).

The scholiasts throw little light on the passage. One at any rate certainly reads ὀρέων; but Tyrannion lays stress on the fact that the habit of the σκῶψ is to hoot at night—ἐν νυκτὶ ἔχοντας τὴν φωνήν, which might perhaps suggest that his reading implied some departure in the passage before us from its usual habit.

Vergil's *certent et cygnis ululae* is, as Huschke points out, no argument in favour of δαρίσαιντο, as Vergil may just as well have had *Idyll* v. 136 in his mind :

οὐ θεμιτὸν, Λάκων, ποτ’ ἀηδόνα κίσσας ἐρίσδεν.

Besides, have we not his rendering, apparently, of πάντα δ’ ἑναλλα γένοιντο of this very passage to serve as a warning against too readily accepting his versions of Theocritus?

RACHEL E. WEDD.

NOTE ON HERODAS II. 44, 45.

μὴ πρὸς τε κυσὸς, φησί, χῶ τάπης ἡμῖν,
τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, λήγης κύρση.

THE precise meaning of these two lines is generally admitted to be obscure, and no satisfactory explanation has been offered by the editors. However, the words φησί . . . τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο show clearly that reference is made to some proverb. Nairn gives the following paraphrastic explanation, ‘Lest my *πρωκτὸς* suffer and furthermore my blanket be stolen.’ Crusius suggests a reference to tossing in a blanket. The other explanations seem less probable, and it is needless to recapitulate them here.

I think it is impossible to accept Nairn's interpretation: κυσὸς never = *πρωκτὸς*, and λήγης κύρση is not satisfactorily rendered by ‘suffer injury.’ The matter would surely be

simplified by taking *κυσὸς* in the same sense as the Latin *cunius* (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 26). The term might well be applied by the *πορνόβοσκος* to Myrtale. We might then render 'Lest I lose bed-fellow and blanket too.' The general sense would then be: 'Lest, besides losing my slave, I suffer the additional loss of being unable to obtain redress.'

If this explanation is correct, we have the complete proverb in the text and not an adaptation.

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THE READING IN ARISTOPH.

ACH. 912.

ΔΙΚ. καὶ μὴν ὁδὶ Νίκαρχος ἔρχεται φανῶν. 908
BOI. μικκός γα μάκος οὔτος. ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ'
ἅπαν κακόν.

ΝΙΚ. ταυτὶ τίνος τὰ φορτί' ἐστί; BOI. τῷδ' ἐμά
Θεῖβαθεν, ἔττω Δεύς. ΝΙΚ. ἐγὼ τοίνυν
ὁδί

φαίνω πολέμια ταῦτα. BOI. τί δαὶ κακὸν
παθών
912
ὀρναπετίοισι πόλεμον ἦρα καὶ μάχαν;

Line 912 MSS. τί δαὶ κακὸν παθών. So Paley, who notes that Elmsley rejected *κακόν* as a gloss and read . . . *ταυταγὶ*. BOI. τί δαὶ παθών κτλ.

Bentl. (followed by Meineke and Ribbeck) τί δὲ κακὸν παθών. Paley suggested καὶ τί κακὸν κτλ. But none of these changes accounts for the MSS. reading. Hence I would suggest τί δ' ἄδικον παθών, the corruption arising thus:

ΤΙ Δ' ΑΔΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙ
ΚΑΚΟΝ, the syllable KON becoming KAKON

under the influence of KAKON at the end of line 909, three lines above.

In support of this suggestion, it may be pointed out (1) That the Boeotian speaker, in his very next words, says τί ἀδικειμένος; (2) The Schol. on line 912 says τί ἡδικημένος;

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PROPERTIUS I. XX. 32.

A dolor, ibat Hylas, ibat Enhydriasin.

This is Dr. Postgate's text in his *Corpus*. He has pointed out to me that the suggestion *Ephydriasin* given in this volume of the *C.R.* p. 123 was given by Baehrens in his edition; and he has referred me to a paper of his own in *A.J.P.* xvii. 30 sq. on 'The alleged confusion of Nymph-names' (cf. his paper in *A.J.P.* xviii.), in which he suggests that the passage in Propertius might be a reminiscence of Alexander Ætolus. In that paper he makes out a case for *Enhydriasin*, a word which, though not found, he rightly regards as a legitimate formation; and he points out that it is nearer to the MSS. tradition than *Ephydriasin*. But considering that this word is found, and 'Εν- not; that Ap. Rhod. i. 1229 has *νύμφη ἐφνδατή* in his tale of Hylas; and that our line so closely resembles that of Alexander Ætolus, Propertian experts might reconsider the claim of 'Εφ-. At all events, it might well be mentioned in the App. Crit. to the passage.

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REVIEWS

THE ARMENIAN HISTORY OF STEPHANOS.

Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte aus dem altarmenischen übersetzt von Heinr. Gelzer und Aug. Burckhardt. Leipzig: Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. 1907.

A LIBRARY of Greek and Roman authors seems an unsuitable home for the German translation of an Armenian work of the tenth or eleventh century A.D., and the German translators by furnishing their work with neither Preface nor Notes, shirk the trouble of explaining how Stephanos of Taron came to be in such illustrious company, what text they have followed, and who Stephanos of Taron was. The two last questions can to a certain extent be answered by the reviewer. Stephanos was an Armenian who lived in the latter half of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century, and at the request of his Katholikos Ter Sargis composed a Universal History, in which Armenia in the main represents the universe. It is in three parts, of which the first begins with Adam and ends with the conversion of Armenia, the second ends with the restoration of the Armenian monarchy by Ashot Bagratuni in the year 888, and the third brings the history down to the year 1004 A.D. The first two parts are extracted from well-known books, and have no value except for the criticism of the text of those sources; the third has some independent value, as being in part a contemporary chronicle. The Armenian text has been printed twice, first in Paris, 1859, and again, with collation of fresh MSS., in St. Petersburg, 1885. A French translation of the first part by M. DuJaurier was published posthumously in Paris, 1883: it had been preceded by a Russian translation of the whole by M. Emin, published in Moscow, 1864. The German translation appears to follow the Petersburg edition, of which a copy has kindly been lent the reviewer by Mr. Cony-

beare. The Paris edition has long been out of print.

The right to publish a translation without note or comment should be jealously guarded, and the reviewer has no intention of censuring the translators' procedure in this matter. The principle however that a translator need only translate is not quite easy to carry out, and if he give an inch his reader is apt to demand an ell. The inch given here is in the Index, where some common and obvious names are identified: the reader may want to know why the less obvious ones have not been similarly treated. Such are 'Azâz, Emir von Ägypten,' by whom al-'Azîz, Fatimide Caliph, is meant; Ipn or Ibn Khosrow, this writer's name for Fannakhosrau, usually called 'Aḍud al-daulah; Nphrkert, the Armenian equivalent of Mayyâfârîkîn; 'Bat, Emir,' known in Moslem history as Bâdh the Kurd.

Although Stephanos writes profane history, his heart is evidently far from the things of this world, and is with monks and ascetics, whose valour consists in singing the psalms of David day and night, or else is expended on dragons. Thirty-eight pages out of the hundred and five which constitute the third part of the work are taken up with Ter Khachik's letter in defence of the dogmas of the Armenian Church. This is a theological document of some consequence. The rest is of some interest, partly for the side-lights which it throws on personages familiar to the readers of Ibn al-Athîr's Chronicle, though it might be unsafe to trust Stephanos where his statements are without confirmation from other authorities. The whole badly needs both geographical and historical commentaries.

As a specimen of his contributions to history we may take what he says of his contemporary 'Aḍud al-daulah. This Emir, he says, amazed the world by his wisdom, which equalled that of Alexander. Having to take a city, the houses whereof were

constructed of reeds, he got the inhabitants to send him their dogs; to [the tails of] these dogs he attached naphtha and fire; the dogs, running to their homes, caused a general conflagration. Feats of this sort so alarmed the great tribe of Ḥamdân, that they abandoned their fortresses and betook themselves to the Byzantine empire. By the command of Basil however they had to return and settle in Aleppo, till they were dispersed and perished. [The German translation omits this last sentence].—Ḥamdân was not a tribe, but a dynasty: the historical facts perverted in this statement are to be found in Freytag's *Geschichte der Hamdaniden* (Z.D.M.G. x. 493-495).

Stephanos continues:—Ibn Khosrow not only let the Christians celebrate their feasts fearlessly, but himself on the day of the Coming of the Redeemer into the Temple, which is called Candlemas, organized illuminations with brilliant torches, wax-candles, and a quantity of flax. [The German translation is: *ja er selbst feierte das Kommen des Erlösers, welches Advent genannt wird, in dem Tempel mit hellem Lichterglanz*. The German translators seem a little weak here in Christian antiquities.] Further, he illuminated the wings of the doves with naphtha and fire, and sent them skywards. He also put on a crown and styled himself king of kings, which was not the Arab custom. Finally he tried to debase the coinage, and when his coins were not taken, he stamped potsherds and scraps of leather, and compelled the tradesmen to take them in exchange for goods.

A good deal of this appears to be historically sound. The title 'king of kings'

(*shâhanshâ*) and the wearing of a crown 'against the custom of the Arabs' by 'Aḍud al-daulah, are the subject of allusions by his court-poet Mutanabbi (ed. Dieterici, pp. 762, 763). He had a Christian vizier, and the story of his keeping Candlemas has no inherent improbability. His debasing of the coinage is not expressly mentioned by Ibn al-Athîr in his obituary notice, but agrees very well with what is stated there.

The above extract not only gives an idea of the historical value of Stephanos, but shows that the translators have not taken their task too seriously. Their Armenian scholarship seems to be on the whole trustworthy, but is occasionally slipshod. In iii. 22 we are told that the emperor Basil, being asked to send his sister to wed with a Bulgarian prince, sent *das Weib eines seiner Diener*: the Armenian (*kin mi i dsarayıts iorots*) surely means 'one of his slave women,' which is somewhat different. At the beginning of iii. 23 the author is made to repeat himself: *nach diesem zog der Kaiser Wasil selbst mit einem Heere nach dem Lande der Bulgaren. Und er zog mit einer starken Armee aus*. In the original the first sentence says that he prepared troops to go out. Slips of this sort seem to occur very rarely, and since Russian is scarcely better known than Armenian in Western Europe, they deserve thanks for rendering this chronicle generally accessible. In these days of relentless industry it is refreshing to find some scholars who do not take too many pains.

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CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE.

The Architecture of Greece and Rome. By W. J. ANDERSON and R. PHENÉ SPIERS. Batsford, 1907.

THE systematic study of Greek architecture was undertaken first by English students. For about two generations, however, this phase of classical archaeology was almost

completely neglected, and except for the fine work of the late Mr. Penrose—the last fruit of the old tradition, which seemed indeed to appear out of season—English architects contributed little of value to European scholarship during this time. Fergusson, however, in working over the materials gathered by others, formed another link

between the past and the present, and his general history of architecture has been a very useful compendium, although it is hardly scientific enough, being in many cases concerned rather with the author's aesthetic opinions than with external facts. Nor must we, in this relation, neglect to mention the records of excavations undertaken by the British Museum at Ephesus, Priene, and Halicarnassus.

With the establishment of the Hellenic Society and the British Schools in Athens and Rome, a new era in the appreciation of classical architecture seems to have opened. The volume of Messrs. Anderson and Spiers, of which Mr. Batsford has just issued a second edition, is eminently qualified to maintain and enlarge this interest, for it is just the kind of book which was required, being at once learned and readable; giving a wide survey and adequate summary of what is known in regard to both Greek and Roman art in one volume of moderate size. I have just happened to see a review by S. Reinach of the German edition of this book, and wish to echo his praise of the excellent bibliography included, which, he says, is the best that is known to him. The volume consists of 339 pp. and full index, together with 253 illustrations, many occupying the whole page, a valuable chronology of Greek temples, a good glossary of terms, and a list of books, the last covering 6 pp. It opens with a chapter on Mycenaean architecture brought well up to date, and including an excellent restoration by Mr. Spiers of the gate of the 'Treasury of Atreus.' This is followed by chapters on the archaic period in Europe and Asia Minor, on the age of maturity in two chapters, another on the Alexandrian period is followed by a chapter on 'Secular Buildings.' These form the first section of the work, and an account of Etruscan and Roman architecture fills eight more chapters. The illustrations are admirably selected, fresh, and from the best sources, and include several drawings by the authors. A most valuable feature is the large number of plans of temples given in the work. It is a book to read, as well as a book of reference, convenient in size and pleasant. I hope that the present edition

of this most useful volume will be speedily exhausted, so that from time to time still more may be added, for it seems to me the best groundwork for a history of classical architecture that we are likely to obtain.

With still more material the arrangement might doubtless be further improved; at present the Treasury of Cnidos at Delphi and the Great Altar at Pergamos come close together in a chapter on the 'Culmination in the Peloponnesos.' I note the following small points—some as to doubts of my own, and some as to small slips of the pen or the memory on the part of the authors. Is there any record that Phidias worked on the Parthenon without pay? It is suggested (p. 77) that the metopes of the Parthenon might have been carved when in position on the building. It is my impression that Mr. Ebersole's inspection of those on the west front showed that they did not all perfectly fit, and must have been carved before they were put in place. That the centre of 'west' pediment was missing in 1674 (p. 78) should read 'east.' The architect of the Erechtheum is properly said to be unknown, but Furtwaengler has suggested Kallimachos. The North Portico, shown on figure 63, is now entirely restored. The Temple of Athene at Priene, begun about 340 B.C., is spoken of on p. 108 as the earliest of the Hellenistic temples of Asia Minor, but this hardly agrees with the chronological list, and Ephesus, begun c. 356 B.C. at latest, seems to be the type from which it derived. The Temple of Apollo near Miletus is spoken of as the greatest of temples (p. 113). Strabo is, I believe, the authority for this, but in the recent French work on Miletus it is stated that Samos was still bigger. On the same page Paeonios is called the architect of this Temple of Apollo as well as of the Artemision, and this he may have been at some stage, but the Apollo Temple is generally much later in style than the other, and I think that a date much too early is given to it. On page 114 it is pointed out that square plinth blocks under bases are not found in the purer Greek works. This may be true of Athens, but the Croesus Temple at Ephesus had them. It is, I think, going outside the record to say that the Mausoleum ranked as one of the

Seven Wonders 'owing to its sculptures' (p. 119). An angle capital, not only a volute, of this building is in the British Museum.

One of the many points which have specially interested me in this work is mentioned on page 114. What could Vitruvius have meant by attributing the invention of the Pseudodipteral formation of temples to Hermogenes, the architect of the Temple of Dionysos at Teos? I have often felt that the putting of the peristyle at a wider distance than ordinary from the cella can hardly have constituted a remarkable departure. The portico columns of most temples, including the Parthenon and Theseum, are at a distance from the inner row as great as the beams would allow. At Selinus the whole peristyle stands at a distance of two columniations from the cella walls, and this temple

happens to be given as *the* example of the Pseudodipteral arrangement in the recently issued American Dictionary of Architecture. The early Ionic temple at Locri had, I believe, a very wide peristyle, so also had some of the Doric temples of Paestum. Mr. Spiers himself gives the plan of the temple at Messa, on the island of Lesbos, and speaks of it as pseudodipteral, while in his chronology he places it early in the Fourth Century, and before any of the other Hellenistic temples, including Ephesus.

Of the Roman part of the book I have not space to speak. I can only say that it is fully equal in every respect to the Greek section, and even more indispensable, for there is no other book of any authority in English upon this subject.

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DIELS'S PRESOCRATICS.

Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch. Von HERMANN DIELS. 2^{te} Auflage, Band II. 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1907. Pp. viii + 469-864. 10 m.

THE appearance of this volume marks the further progress of the second edition, so that it is now complete with the exception of the Index Verborum. It is good news to hear that arrangements have been made for the preparation of a full verbal index 'with special reference to terminology,' and that its publication may shortly be expected. The present instalment contains the text of the Cosmologists and Sophists, with short notes at the foot of each page, the notes to the texts printed in the first volume, and a register of authors and names. The whole of the text, that is to say, the biographical and doxographical extracts as well as the actual fragments, is now printed uniformly in the larger type; and it is to be hoped that, when the book reaches its next edition, another improvement will be made by the transference of the notes to the Philosophers from the end of the second part to their

proper place below the pages to which they refer. There cannot be any practical difficulty in making this change, which has already been carried out to the great advantage of readers in respect of the less important writers printed in the present volume.

Prof. Diels has spared no pains in remedying the minor defects of the first edition: as illustrating the care with which the work of revision has been carried out, it may be mentioned that almost all the particulars to which exception was taken in this *Review* (xviii. 217 ff.) have now been modified. The principal additions to or alterations of the text in the second part are as follows. The chapter on Orpheus contains two new extracts (15^a and 22); but a passage in the former (p. 478, 28-30) is quite unintelligible as printed here. In the case of Epimenides, frs. 6, 7 and 17 of the old edition have been separated and rearranged, with certain additions, as belonging to a work bearing the title *Κρητικά*. A new chapter among the astronomers is now given to the fragments of the *Ἀστρονομία* of Hesiod: this work,

formerly regarded as Alexandrian, is attributed by Diels, following Robert and others, to the sixth century B.C. The account of Pherecydes of Syros is enlarged by several fresh passages, and Acusilaus now receives complete treatment, whereas in the former edition Diels was content to refer to Müller, while pointing out certain additions to his collection to be found in Philodemus. A new chapter (73^a) has been added for the Seven Wise Men, which is however professedly incomplete: besides extracts from Laertius and Plato, it contains only the sayings preserved in Stobaeus (*fl.* 3. 79) under the name of Demetrius. I question if this addition is of much use, at any rate in its present form; and indeed, if Thales is left out of account, Dicaearchus was not far wrong in describing the Wise Men as οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους, συνετοὺς δέ τινας καὶ νομοθετικούς.

As it may be predicted with confidence that this book will go through other editions, I subjoin some comments on points of detail, suggested by a fresh examination of the text and by the notes now first published: the references are to the page and line of the second edition. At p. 486, 22 surely ὅτε is required for ὅτι. At p. 531, 2 δύη takes the place of Meineke's δύνη adopted in the *Poetae Philosophi*; but would not Timon follow the Homeric syntax? I cannot think ὥς is right at p. 577, 11; we seem to want δὲ ὁ, or even ᾧ. P. 580, 23: Richards' ἀκροατήν (*C.R.* xv. 298) should be added to the foot-note. Thinking that an adjective is wanted to balance ἱκανώτατον, I suspect that something has fallen out; perhaps we might read δίκαιον τε κριτήν. P. 618, 27 ff.: the arrangement of the text is very confusing, and the quotation from the scholiast on Aristophanes should be placed within brackets. On p. 619 (fr. 19) Eusebius is mentioned in the note, but the reference (*P.E.* xiii. p. 681 B) is nowhere given. In connexion with this fragment, I should have welcomed a note on the interesting word αὐτοφυή. L. and S., who certainly should not have compared Plat. *Prot.* 321 A, render *self-existent*, following (I suppose) Grotius and Valckenaer *diatr.* p. 41. But such a metaphysical application of the word seems

improbable; the only parallels I can find belong to a much later period. Cf. Suid. s.v. Μαρκιανός: αὐτοφυή τὸν κόσμον καὶ διοικεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ, the tenet of a man corrupted by Epicurean δόγματα. In [Plut.] *Plac.* i. 7, p. 881 E, αὐτοφυή is an epithet of θεόν, but Diels (*Doxogr.* p. 304) on other grounds refuses to ascribe it to Aetius. Similar to this is Aristid. i. p. 5, quoted by Valckenaer. I think that Clement's paraphrase—ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸν μὲν αὐτοφυή τὸν δημιουργὸν γὰρ νοῦν εἴρηκεν—points to an active meaning, *creative*, and that this is much more appropriate to the context. P. 627, 6: ἐλεύθερον is *unpledged*, see Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. 405. P. 661 (on Heracl. fr. 7): this fragment is most simply explained by being brought into connexion with frs. 98 and 107, so that in each case the worthlessness of sense-perception is contrasted with the intuition of ψυχῇ. Thus in αἱ ψυχαὶ ὁσμῶνται καθ' Ἀδην the emphasis is on ψυχαί (*i.e.*, no longer ῥίνες): see also frs. 26, 27. P. 662 (on p. 66, 17): the reference to Anon. Iambl. is decisive in favour of Diels' interpretation. P. 662 (on p. 68, 11): the reference given for ὅτε=ἥτις is wrong. P. 663 (on p. 71, 3): a note is required on the insertion of τῆς. P. 664 (on p. 75, 9): the supplement τῆς αὐτῆς is unnecessary, if ἔξιν is taken not as 'quality' or 'condition,' but in its special Stoic sense of *continuity*, *i.e.*, unifying principle. Thus κατὰ ἔξιν='in so far as it is a unit': see the passages cited in my note on Zeno, fr. 56, 53. The subject to σκίδνησι, which is used absolutely, is not θεός (Bernardakis), but θνητὴ οὐσία. P. 665 (on p. 78, 13): Diels has changed his mind and now prefers αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχῇ σοφωτάτη κ.ά., without giving any reason. The philosophical content of αὐγὴ deserves investigation: cf. Emped. fr. 135, and for the later schools, Chrysipp. ii. 611 Arn., Plut. *Mor.* 653 F. P. 684 (on Emped. fr. 15): the generalising τε is in place here and should not be changed to κε: the two passages quoted from the *Odyssey* do not support κε in a clause of general assumption. The very unusual aorists after πρίν and ἐπεὶ in the same fr. require explanation: cf. fr. 35, 3 ff. The thrice-repeated αὐτὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ταῦτα (frs. 17, 34; 21, 13; 26, 3) is rendered 'denn nur diese

(*vier Elemente*) gibt es, i.e., 'only these exist,' not 'these are alone.' This is questionable (see Starkie on Ar. *Vesp.* 255); and I prefer the old view that the *reality* of the elements is asserted (i.e., 'they exist of themselves'). For another interpretation see Platt in *Journ. Phil.* xxiv. p. 246. Fr. 62, 1: the common view that πολυκλαύτων means *tearful* is to be preferred. A reference should be given to A 72. P. 688 (on p. 202, 5): the recently discovered commentator on the *Theaetetus* confirms Buttmann's κέρματα against the corruptions of Plutarch's MSS. Diels supplies ζώνθ' in the next line, but Alexander does not indicate that Empedocles drew this distinction: perhaps ὁσμᾶθ' (ὁσμᾶται) fell out before ὅσος ἀπέλειπε. P. 690 (on p. 209, 12): I think it improbable that μελάγκουρος means 'black-haired,' as Diels holds; and Hegemon's εὔκουρος proves nothing. Comparing εὔπαις, καλλίπαις, εὐπάρθενος Δίρκα, εὐτεκνός ξυνωρίς, I suggest that μ. = ἡ μέλαινα κούρη (cf. Theocr. 10. 26 f.). "Αιδὴς μελαγχαιτης is another matter: if the reference is to *shorn*

hair, what is the point of μέλας? On fr. 133 Lucr. v. 100 should have been quoted. Fr. 30, 3 (cf. fr. 115, 2) πλατέος ὄρκον, and fr. 112, 1 κατὰ ('overlooking'?) require explanation. P. 274 (on Democr. fr. 179): Diels now gives ἔξω τί κως ἢ πονεῖν παῖδες ἀνιέντες, excellent palaeographically but not quite convincing. I laid no stress on ζωτικῶς, and cannot attempt to defend it here; but I must protest against the odd travesty of my suggestion which Diels inadvertently prints.

The following slips should be corrected. P. 58 (A 5) and p. 67 (B 31): the evidence of Aristotle and his commentators on the ἐκπύρωσις question is incomplete: e.g., *Phys.* iii. 205 a 3 is wanting. P. 77, 5: some words have been omitted from the text, as is obvious from the translation. P. 79, 4: ἄλλη is an error for ἄλλῃ. P. 187, 15: add a reference to 55 A 89^a. P. 189, 1: the reference should be Plut. *qu. conv.* viii. 3, 1, p. 720 E. P. 686 (on p. 188, 23): the MSS. reading should be given.

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T. W. ALLEN'S ODYSSEY.

Homeri Opera recognovit THOMAS W. ALLEN. Tomi iii, iv. Odyssea i-xxiv. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1908. 2s. 6d. paper, 3s. cloth.

IN 1889 A. Ludwich published his edition of the Odyssey, a revised text with an apparatus criticus based on the examination by himself and others of twenty-four MSS. In his preface he castigates and denounces with considerable freedom contemporary Homeric critics and their methods, appealing to the younger scholars to complete the examination of the extant MSS., to finish in fact the work so well begun by himself. This task, involving visits to libraries all over Europe, a task of immense extent and difficulty, 'opus non unius hominis' Ludwich calls it, has been undertaken and accomplished by Mr. Allen, who deserves every scholar's congratulation on his great achievement. With some help duly acknowledged,

he has examined and collated the extant MSS. of the Odyssey, more than seventy in all, with, as he says, only three exceptions, and the results of his labours are contained in these two modest volumes recommended by convenience of size, clearness of type, accuracy of printing and moderate cost.

This welcome text, one of the Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, must inevitably take the place of the time-honoured dumpy and ugly Oxford Pocket Edition, which with all its imperfections has so long held the field in the University. To compare the merits of the two would be an injustice to Mr. Allen's work, which challenges comparison with the very best. Though, perhaps, in general the necessity of extreme brevity has prevented him from giving in full detail much that can be found in Ludwich (e.g. ο 153, ω 532), yet by the grouping together of the MSS. into 'familiae,' indicated by small letters, he is often enabled to convey

more in a few words than Ludwich can in five or six times the number. By this compendious method of classifying the authorities, which he proposes to discuss at length and justify in *actorum scholae* Brit. Rom. tom. v, the economy of space indispensable for a popular edition has been secured. Of course in some points Mr. Allen's arrangement differs materially from what we meet with in Ludwich's book. Ludwich classes M (Allen's U⁵) with J and K: according to Allen U⁵ and K still remain together, in family *e*, but J stands in fam. *h* with two different Venetian MSS. U⁶ and U⁸. Again Ludwich associates X (V⁴) and D (P¹); Allen places V⁴ in a group (*m*) with M³ (L.'s E), while P¹ forms a class (*l*) with R². Taking it for granted that, when any reading is attributed to a family of MSS., it is to be understood that this reading is found in every MS. of that family, I note that in α 70 the variant *ἔσκε* is here supported by C L⁷ R⁴ M² R¹, but in Ludwich by T only, a MS., by the way, apparently not included in Mr. A.'s classification. In α 88 δὲ ἐλεύσομαι seems to have no support beyond the somewhat remote δ' ἐλ. of C L⁷ R⁴ (but N T K Ludwich), whereas in α 112 a hiatus licitus vouched for by all the MSS. is disregarded, and rightly, I believe, for a good metrical reading of Aristarchus.

Mr. Allen has set forth a few of the general principles by which he has been guided. He has wisely paid some heed to the digamma. He has expelled *εἶος* and *ἔως* in favour of *ἦος* save for just one awkward instance of *ἔως*, β 78, cf. *τέως* for *τῆος*, σ 190. He declines to admit any gen. in -*οο*, and he might fairly have based this exclusion on the character of his edition (*libellorum indoles*). In truth the appearance of these forms would probably have caused a shock of surprise to all readers, an unpleasant one, it may be, to some, an agreeable one to others. To the mere exclusion, then, no objection need be taken; but in defending it Mr. Allen states that *Αἰδῶλον ἀνεψιοῦ* sim. must or may be attributed to metrical license on the part of the epic poet (immo potius epicorum *ἀδεία* metrical attribuenta sint). This statement I really cannot accept. Let any one fairly consider all the traces of

-*οο* as set forth in § 98 of Monro's Homeric Grammar, and I am sure he will be absolutely convinced, not of the propriety of introducing -*οο* into our texts intended for learners (*bonis pueris grandibusque virginibus*), but certainly that to call in 'poetical license' as a justification of the quantity *Αἰδῶλον* is altogether retrograde and untenable. Dr. Monro states a positive fact when he says: 'there are several places where -*οο* is called for by the metre.' To take a concrete instance, in ξ 239 the original poet did not write or say *δήμου φῆμῖς* because a spondee was admissible there; but he wrote, as Sir R. Jebb (Introd. to Homer, p. 191) and every one else say, *δήμοο φῆμῖς*. If the epic poet, fretus *ἀδεία* metrical, could write *δήμου φῆμῖς*, then he might apparently equally well have ended his verse with *φῆμῖς δήμου*, which Mr. A. must admit is utterly inconceivable. So also there is no doubt the quantity traditionally given to *Αἰδῶλον* and *ἀνεψιοῦ* is epically impossible. Even the most conservative defender of the transmitted text would hardly maintain that *ῥῶ διαν* is due to metrical license. Anything akin to a 'legal fiction' has no place in literary criticism. Whether the original dactyl should be printed in our texts is another matter.

In dealing with the augment, Mr. Allen, rightly I think, seems disposed to dispense with it when not required by the metre. His tendency is certainly in this direction. We have *ὄρμηναν, ἀπόμνυ, ὄτρυνεν, ὄπλεον, ὀπλίσσατο, ἄσπαιρε, ἔρπον, ἀρχε* η 47 (but *ἦρχε* ε 237), *ὄρνυτο* (but *ᾤρσεν* μ 313). Again *ἄνδανε, ἐργάζετο οἴκεον* show regard for the *F*, but not *ᾤκει* ι 200, and the form *ἔφκει* which is quite as bad as *ἐήνδανε* presents a difficulty. The syllabic augment is on many occasions omitted rather arbitrarily, '*δίχα βάζομεν* cum codicibus'; but the appar. crit. on γ 127 hardly bears this out. What is there against *δίχ' ἐβάζομεν*? The most questionable case, however, is when the result is a strong diaeresis at the end of the second foot, e.g. δ 112, 144, 733, 736, ι 197, ν 417, etc. This with all deference I can hardly regard as either necessary or desirable.

The following variations from Ludwich seem to be in the main improvements: β 55 *ἡμετέρον* for -*ου*, β 275 *σέ γ'*, γ 19 *αὐτὸς*,

δ 567 πνείοντος, ζ 262 βήομεν, 303 ἥρως, θ 380 ἑσταότες, 462 ἐμεῦ, 526 ἰδοῦσα, κ 429 ἐρύκανε, 481 μιν, ν 289 ἰδύνῃ, τ 403 θῆαι, ν 106 ἦατο, φ 110 γ' om., 401 αῦ, χ 234 ἰδῆς, 254 ἐπεὶ χ', ω 118 ἄρ. But the merits of the text may be better gauged by a few comparisons with the Oxford Homer (1901) of the editor's lamented collaborator Dr. Monro: γ 10 κάταγον, τοι, δ 475 (= ε 114) τ' om., δ 556 δ' om., 596 οὐδέ με for οὐδέ κέ μ', 784 σφιν ἐνείκαν, ε 34 ἥματι εἰκοστῷ, η 86 ἐληλέατ' (ἐληλάατ'?), θ 169 τ' om., 495 ρ' om., 578 ἰδέ for ἦδ', λ 146 τι for τοι, μ 452 τε om., ν 125 αῦ for αὐτ', ξ 342 με for μοι, ο 109 δώματος, ο 216 ἐς, 507 καὶ for τὲ καί, ρ 70 ἅπαντα for ἕκαστα, 78 τ' om., also 189, 533, σ 38, χ 422. ρ 393 πολλὰ ἔπεσιν, σ 418 ἄγε, τ 46 ἀμφί for ἀμφίς, 463 ἅπαντα, φ 192 σφε ἔπεσιν, χ 233 ἵστα for ἵστασο, ψ 40 οὐ so 152.

Among interesting variants noted, in some cases for the first time, are: β 144 αἶ κε Ζεὺς δώσῃ L⁵, ε 272 θ' ὀρώωντι Schol., 290 ἑάν Schol., ε 426 τε δρύφῃ, ζ 296 ἄστν διέλθωμεν, ι 366 ὄνομ' ἔστ', 393 σιδήροιο κράτος, μ 415 ἄμα δὲς, ξ 221 ε' ἐν πολέμῳ, π 257 φραζε', τ 44 καταλέξε', τ 343 ἐνὶ θυμῷ, φ 363 τάχα σ'.

So much then for the merits of these volumes and the quality of the text. The work may indeed claim to be in a certain limited sense an editio princeps, being as it is the first that can be said to be based on an examination of practically all the extant codices. Let me now with due regard to the aim of the editor, the indoles libellorum, indicate a few points of possible improvement in future editions. It is surely not necessary to retain αὐχένας ἦξε (τ 539), and although ἔσιδεν (ι 251) and ἔσιδε (ν 197) are acceptable, the same cannot be said of ἐσιδον (λ 582, 593). The choice can only lie between the traditional modernism εἰσείδον and the correct εἰσείδον (i.e. εἰσέFιδον). The form δαίδω might be allowed to lapse in favour of, I would not say, δαίδοα, but δαίδια (δέδFια), for which there is good warrant, v. Didymus on Ξ 44.

There are no less than six different varieties of reading for an editor to select from in ι 360. The MSS. seem unanimous in giving the true reading, and editors seem equally

unanimous in giving something else. Mr. Allen, who follows Ludwich, is no exception. The line as transmitted runs thus:

ὥς ἔφατ'· αὐτὰρ οἱ αὐτὶς ἐγὼ πόρον αἶθοπα
οἶνον.

Editors and critics apparently imagine that the second foot was intended by the poet to be a dactyl. The true scansion is of course:

ὥς ἔφατ'· αὐτὰρ F' αὐτὶς ἐγὼ, etc.

The scansion is perfect and the rhythm unexceptionable, cf. α 49, 78, 216, ο 281, τ 226, χ 400, E 204, Z 157. Why add more?

The paragogic ν might, I suggest, be allowed to disappear more frequently, e.g. before ἕκαστος, ἰδών, ὅς, ἔπος, ἀναξ, etc. Ἐνίσπες has no metrical guarantee anywhere: ἐνίσπε, besides the support of most MSS., has confirmatory evidence, e.g. δ 642, and should be preferred.

Other possible desiderata are: β 305 μάλ', γ 230 Τηλέμαχος, 256 ζῶοντ', 296 ἀπεέργει, 372 Ἀχαιοὺς, δ 2 ἔχον, ε 136 ἀγήραον et alibi. η 110 τεχνῆσαι with ἰστόν, not mentioned. ι 331 ἄνωγα, κ 17 ἐγών, 505 γενέσθω, λ 221 δάμνατ', 540 γηθοσύνη, μ 75 ἐρώει, 278 dele μ', ν 238 (ο 484), τήνδε γε with Monro. με is possible, but not τε. 363 ἀλλ' ἄγε bko, ξ 32 κε φ, ο 334 ἰδέ, 432 ἰδῆς also λ 94, π 234 βουλεύωμεν, π 406 ἐσιάνδαν, the text-reading is apparently an oversight. 469 μητέρ' εἶπεν in X(V⁴) Ludwich. ρ 479 δῶμα, τ 62 δεπα' deserves mention, 64 φάος τ'. 203 I would suggest πόλλ' ἀλέγων. The fictions are *deliberate*. ν 255 εἰνοχοί, φ 208 (ω 322) ἦλθον εἰκοστῷ, 222 ἐσιδέτην ἐν τ'. χ 181 A period at μένοντε. The var. ἐνθ' (182) is attractive. 275 βεβλήκειν, ψ 348 φάος, ω 192 πάις from h.

In γ 182 ἔστασαν (ἵστασαν Ox. Hom. Ludwich) seems a curious preference; but in view of σ 307 ἵστασαν the reading of θ 435 ἔστασαν is utterly untenable. μ 70 πασιμέλουσα and δ 121 ἐκ Ἑλένη are both more or less objectionable. In η 259 Bentley's erroneous ἐμπεδα might be well allowed to be forgotten.

It may perhaps be doubted whether the editor has done well to leave out the brackets by which the doubtful character of such lines

as β 191, γ 78, ο 113-9, etc., has been marked by all editors since Wolf.

The highest praise is due to the work of the staff of the Clarendon Press. Mistakes,

it would seem, are to them almost unknown phenomena. The only misprint I have detected is ἐκ for ἐν (p. 269).

T. L. AGAR.

THE STARS IN ROMAN LITERATURE.

De stellarum appellatione et religione Romana.

By WILHELM GUNDEL. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1907. 8vo. Pp. iv + 160. M. 4.40.

MR. GUNDEL has written a useful book. He has gathered together from Roman writers most of their references to the stars, and arranged them under various heads: the evening star, the dog star, certain constellations, and so on. But he has left room for much better work.

To begin with, Mr. Gundel's Latinity is not of the best. Among other things, I have noted an unhappy use of *ut* with the indicative in a causal sense. '*Ut Romani primitus navigio non studebant, a Graecis hanc observationem eos traxisse veri simile est*' (p. 80). Later on there is a still more painful case (p. 96). The author in a footnote unkindly declares that the proofs were corrected by one of the editors of the series to which this essay belongs. This only makes matters worse for Latin studies at Giessen.

Mr. Gundel's book is somewhat to seek in etymology also. His argument is varied but not improved by fairy tales of the following sort: *G. Vossius deducit stellam 'a σέλας lumen adiecto τ vel a τέλλω (ἀνατέλλω) praeposito sibilo vel'*—but why proceed? It is indeed late in the day for stuff like this to be reprinted. Exploded etymologies fill the place of material which is necessary to the completion of the essay. Astrology certainly was an importation into Rome, but it already

flourished in the second pre-Christian century, and would have rewarded a fuller consideration than Mr. Gundel gives it. He thinks to find with Nigidius Figulus the first traces of astrology in Rome (p. 90). Rome was subject to foreign influences from so early a time that we cannot form a clear picture of purely Roman religion: it seems to me inconsistent to quote late writers to illustrate the Latin names of the stars, and to pass over the astrology with which their minds were tinged.

In fact, Mr. Gundel's book is below the level of others in the same series, notably Mr. Thulin's book on Etruscan religion. Mr. Thulin, for instance, finds in the oldest Roman calendar relations with astrology due to Etruscan influences (*Die Götter des Martianus Capella*, p. 78). Why does not Mr. Gundel make use of the work of his predecessor?

I have noted one or two details, of which the following may be mentioned. Vitruvius probably took the form *vesperugo* from Varro; *de architectura* ix. pref. 17 and ix. i. 7 (p. 8). Professor Mahaffy, in the *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (p. 360), furnishes a charming parallel to the *septem triones*, 'the seven threshing oxen.' 'As for the treading out of corn, I saw it done at Argos by a string of seven horses abreast, with two foals at the outside, galloping round a small circular threshing-floor in the open field upon which the ripe sheaves had been laid in radiating order.'

F. GRANGER.

EURIPIDES IN FRENCH.

Les Drame d'Euripide. Traductions en vers par P. MARTINON, professeur au Lycée d'Alger. I. Alceste, Hécabe, Hippolyte. II. Les deux Iphigénies, Médée. Paris, 1908.

THESE pleasant little books are easy to criticise. They contain certain plays of Euripides, with very large omissions, translated into what appear to be good and effective Alexandrines. The verse is fairly strict, though not quite on the model of Racine. Verses without caesura, for instance, are admitted, like

Pour te suivre dans Iolcos j'ai pris ma fuite,

and there are signs of Romantic or post-Romantic influence. The lines, however, run well, and have the immense advantages of being free from pedantry and easily intelligible. They would speak easily on the stage.

And now for the omissions. All choral and lyric elements are omitted; all long speeches are drastically shortened; in the Tauric Iphigenia the Messenger's narrative at the end is omitted altogether, and the earlier one greatly cut down. It seems, indeed, roughly speaking, that everything not intelligible and entertaining at first sight has been tactfully avoided—a process necessarily attended with enormous loss. The poetry, the mystery, the intensity of tragic meaning, even any really difficult or unusual psychology—all these have disappeared. M. Martinon, of

course, might very well answer that at least what he has done he has done successfully, and that to attempt the rest is only to lose a sense of proportion and to court failure.

For example, in the scene of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, where Clytemnestra is appealing to Achilles to save her daughter, there is a poignant effect produced by the profound egotism of the champion. At one point, after raging at the use to which Agamemnon has turned his 'name'—'Is my name to do his murders for him?'—he adds, 'Why did he not ask me first?'

ἔδωκα τὰν Ἑλλήσιν, εἰ πρὸς Ἴλιον
ἐν τῶιδ' ἔκαμνε νόστος. (965)

This is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the scene. It moves it from the plane of mere romance to that of bitter psychological tragedy. M. Martinon omits these lines, and slurs over others which point in the same direction.

A more obvious instance of the change made by the omission of the Chorus is in the great scene of the *Medea*, where the children's voices are heard crying for help in the house, and the Chorus, torn by the intolerable moment from the calm of its ideal world, batters in vain against the barred doors: a very wonderful scene, anticipating the end of Maeterlinck's *Mort de Tintagiles*.

To the more intimate lovers of Euripides these omissions are disastrous, but to many readers they will probably make the plays easier to follow. G. M.

SOME ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

Clarendon Press: *Hesiod*, by A. W. MAIR. *Plato's Republic*, by B. JOWETT. *The Silvae of Statius*, by D. A. SLATER. Macmillan: *Caesar's Gallic War*, by T. RICE HOLMES.

MR. SLATER'S *Statius* is a very welcome addition to the English translations of classical authors; for strange to say, his is the first English translation ever made of the *Silvae*. The work has been helped by the new Oxford text of the *Silvae*, and the translator has had the revision of Prof. Phillimore, Prof.

Hardie, and Mr. Garrod. The difficulties of the Latin are better known than its merits, because it has been a happy hunting ground for examiners through many years; now the student's task will be greatly lightened, and he will have leisure to enjoy what is best in the author. An excellent introduction and a few useful notes are added. Mr. Slater's style is a little affected: perhaps he meant this to represent the affectations of his original; but this is no excuse for his lapses into iambic verse, which spoil the pleasure of reading. Unfortunately the prose prefaces

are omitted, perhaps for the benefit of examiners. It is to be hoped that Mr. Slater will carry out his original intention and give us a commentary also: Vollmer's is notoriously unsafe.

Mr. Mair's is not the only translation of *Hesiod*, but there was room for a new one. This includes all the works ascribed to Hesiod, with the fragments. Mr. Mair also drops into iambics, at times, and his style is archaizing perhaps a little beyond need; certainly beyond the style of the author, who with the proper poetic tags, thinks and often speaks like a peasant. A touch of dialect would hit him off to a nicety. We have noted some of his renderings with surprise: *ἐπάλεα* 493 cannot be 'sunny'; it means 'crowded' (cp. *Ἀθήνα Ἀλέα, ἀλλέες, ἀλίζω*); and *τροχάλον* 518 surely means 'running,' not 'bent.' The introduction deals with poetry in the early world, conventional epithets, and the like; Hesiod's life, and works ascribed to him. There are some valuable

essays at the end, on the folk of the Golden Age, and the 'Farmer's Year' in Hesiod (of the latter interesting parallels and illustrations are found, from the *Geoponica*, an English calendar of 1669, and Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*), Farmer's Implements, and Lucky Days. These are a new commentary on the poem, which was much needed.

The other volumes of this series reprint Jowett's translation with introduction and analysis unchanged.

Mr. Rice Holmes's *Caesar* is accompanied by a short introduction describing the Gauls and the constitution of the Roman legion. Readers of Mr. Holmes's standard books will be prepared to find an excellent version in simple English. It is also attractively printed, and we may hope that *Caesar* in his English form may penetrate to many a class-room and many an examination-room which would regard the original Latin as useless.

SHORT NOTICES

Natursagen; eine Sammlung naturdeutender Sagen, Märchen, Fabeln und Legender.
Herausgegeben von OSKAR DÄHNHARDT.
I. Sagen zum alten Testament. Teubner.
M. 8.

THIS volume is the first of an important undertaking, in which O. Dähnhardt has the help of a number of other scholars. It is no less than a collection, classified and criticised, of the world's nature-myths. Such a work is not important only for the student of folklore; it touches at many points both the classical scholar and the theologian. Here for example, although the main subject is not Greek, we have parallels to certain Greek legends, such as the flood, the theft of fire, the story of Silenus, not to mention fables of Æsop. For the theologian, it may be a fascinating task to unravel the threads of primitive tradition that meet him in the Old Testament, and to see how the Bible stories have again intertwined themselves with the structure of folk-tales. The psychology of man is often illuminated by these tales; in particular his insatiable curiosity for the reason of everything, and the ease with which he satisfies it.

The divisions of this volume are: Creation of the world, the making of Man, with his

complement Woman, the Devil, and dualistic legends, the Fall, with its results; the persons of Bible story, Adam, his beard and his stature, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Flood, Abraham, Ishmael, Joseph, Moses, Solomon, Jonah, Job; the fallen angels; Wine. Typical sagas—such as the two types of Creation myth—are given fully; parallels and contrasts are cited in brief, or in the significant part. It is remarkable to trace the relations between European and Eastern versions of similar things: the dual system of Man, for example, plays an important part; often God is weak, and the Devil does what is usually ascribed to God. Thus the Devil makes Adam, but cannot give him life; or God makes Adam and the Devil mars him. The Devil even makes the world, as the Gnostics held. As a rule, however, the Devil tries to deceive, and is detected or thwarted. The manifold nature of man, still more of woman, is often allegorized, by describing the various elements that went to his making; most remarkable of these stories is one from India (p. 123¹) that describes the character of woman in terms of nature. Many of the tales and episodes are numerous, especially those that deal with animals. One series of tales makes Adam with a long tail, which was cut off to create Eve. Eve had no

respect for Adam, so God gave him a beard, which immediately made her respectful and obedient. This very odd tale, with its rough humour, is traced to an earlier Lilith-cycle, which has the same central idea of the disobedient wife.

A bibliography and a full index complete the volume.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Die Buchrolle in der Kunst: archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen. By THEODOR BIRT. Leipzig. 1907. Pp. 352, 191 illustrations. M. 12.

THIS appears as a supplement to the earlier studies of the same author, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin, 1882), which dealt with ancient books in relation to literature; but at the same time it is complete in itself, and not dependent upon the other, of which the chief points are summed up in a short introduction. The author draws his material from ancient monuments of all classes, in which the fashion and use of books are illustrated, and he has collected almost exhaustive lists of examples, which will be of great value to all who study the subject. It is, however, much to be regretted that the frequent reproductions in the text are of the poorest quality, being mostly amateur drawings which are often slovenly and not always intelligible. One may not perhaps require the skill of a trained draughtsman in sketches which only profess to illustrate essential details of the originals, but there is a minimum of care and cleanliness which even the untrained hand should recognise, if the work is to be worthy of publication. The use of books is examined from every aspect, but most attention is naturally given to the act of reading, in which the various positions are analysed and reduced to definite schemes. An interesting chapter deals with the ancient book in its connection with the Trajan and Antonine columns and similar monuments. These are held not only to have been suggested by the papyrus picture-book, but actually to represent such a roll set out for public inspection on a round shaft, like the Spartan *skutale*; and the view is supported by the observation that Trajan's column was erected

in the Forum of Trajan, the open court between the Emperor's Latin and Greek libraries. A notable feature is that, although the subject belongs to classical archaeology, the author does not confine himself within the conventional 'Greek and Roman' periods, but extends his investigations into Early Christian and Mediaeval times, and so preserves the continuity of art which is too often neglected by archaeologists.

E. J. F.

Szenen aus Menanders Komödien. Deutsch von CARL ROBERT. Berlin, 1908. M. 2.40.

Der neue Menander. Von CARL ROBERT. Berlin, 1908. Pp. 146. M. 4.50.

Menandri Quatuor Fabularum Fragmenta iterum edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN. Lugduni Batavorum. Pp. 178. 5s. 6d.

THE first of Prof. Robert's two volumes is a translation in plain verse of the greater part of the new Menander. It is not for a foreigner to pronounce on the language or metre of the rendering; but the latter seems to me—I speak with all diffidence—somewhat rougher than that of the original. As far as I know, no similar English version has yet appeared.

The second volume is a new text. Robert has indicated a number of missing scenes, and tried to fit into them some of the previously known fragments from the four plays. He gives at the end a conspectus of all emendations known to him down to a certain date. These are very numerous, but unluckily the date was a little too early for him to include the results of Körte's reading of the papyrus, which have since been published in the proceedings of the Royal Saxon Academy. As far as I can see from examination here and there, Robert's own contributions to the text are mainly in the way of conjectural supplement where the papyrus quite or almost fails us, an attractive but perilous enterprise. Correcting errors is precarious enough, but in absolute gaps there is often little to guide conjecture and nothing to support it. We all try it, however.

It would be an excellent rule to establish

that editors who make or propose any changes in a text should always give a list of the passages changed. One would not then have to hunt through a whole book for the novelties of this sort that it may contain. The same rule should indeed apply to distinctly new matter of any kind.

Van Leeuwen, in his second edition (more attractively got up than Robert's book, which is for one thing rather too closely printed), has considerably altered his text on longer consideration and additional suggestions from many sources, including English. He has also added a brief commentary. The book is now on the plan of his plays of Aristophanes.

H. R.

The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery.

Catalogued with Introduction and descriptive notes by GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D.
New York, 1908. Pp. 167. 23 plates.

THIS handsome volume describes a collection of Arretine pottery, chiefly moulds and fragments of vases, now at Harvard University. So little has been done hitherto in the way of cataloguing or publishing this interesting class of pottery that Dr. Chase's admirable and well-illustrated catalogue is exceedingly welcome. The items, numbering nearly 600, are classified according to subjects, following Dragendorff's grouping (*Bonner Jahrb.* xcvi. p. 58 ff.), and the brief but useful introductory summary of the subject is largely based on the same authority. Few individual pieces call for notice, the best being the mould No. 1, with the Birth of Dionysos, a duplicate of which is in the British Museum (L 94). The fragment of a Centauromachia by M. Perennius (Pl. xii) makes us regret its incompleteness. Otherwise the types follow the usual conventional 'new-Attic' lines, with frequent repetitions. An interesting point noted by the compiler is the parallelism between the decorative patterns and those of Renaissance work, e.g. of Ghirlandajo and the Robbias. As he points out, it is quite possible that the Italian artists of that period were well acquainted with Arretine ware, the discovery of which goes back as far as the thirteenth century.

H. B. W.

The Shores of the Adriatic: The Austrian Side, the Küstenlande, Istria, and Dalmatia. By F. H. JACKSON, R.B.A. Fully illustrated with Plans, Drawings by the Author, and Photographs taken specially for this work. Murray. 21s.

THIS book is well printed on good paper and well illustrated; its chief interest, however, is for the student of modern life rather than ancient. The classical student will indeed find something. There is a full-page photograph of a statue of Venus in the museum of Aquillia, much damaged but very graceful; and a brief description of several other objects of art. One relief depicts a procession in which a meteoric stone is carried. A brief account is given of the palace of Diocletian, with a picture of the Golden Gate and one of the door of the Atrio Rotondo. Occasional references to Roman remains are found in various parts of the book. But most of the pictures are of Christian antiquities or of modern scenes and groups. The book says much of the customs of the people, and contains besides a great deal of antiquarian lore. The traveller will find it very useful; the enquiring reader will read it with great pleasure.

Les deux Camps de la Légion 11^e Auguste à Lambèse d'après les fouilles récentes. By M. R. CAGNAT. (Extrait des Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, xxxviii.) Paris, 1908. Pp. 63. 5 plates, 5 cuts. Fr. 4.

AN exhaustive account of the two camps at Lambesi. Researches have shewn that the smaller one, formerly known as the camp 'of the auxiliaries' is the original legionary camp of Hadrian's time, where the inscription with his *allocutio* was found. The later camp, a fine example, dates from the beginning of the third century.

H. B. W.

De Hermino Peripatetico (diss. inaug.). HENRICUS SCHMIDT. Marburg: Bauer. 1907. Pp. 46. 8½" × 5½".

HERMINUS was a Peripatetic philosopher, who lived in the latter part of the second century A.D., and whose chief claim to distinction is that he was the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias. The writer of the above dissertation has collected all the notices relating to him, which are to be found almost entirely

in the writings of the Aristotelian commentators. The work has been carefully done, but it is open to question whether Herminius was worth rescuing from the oblivion into which he has fallen; and this indeed seems to be the opinion of the author himself.

Herminius wrote commentaries on the *categoriae*, on the *de interpretatione*, and on the first book of the *prior analytics*; and his views on various points of detail in these treatises have come down to us through Simplicius, Boethus, and Alexander. There is nothing in these notices to show that as a thinker he possessed any originality; but, as he is generally mentioned where his opinion is considered erroneous, it is probable that the extracts do less than justice to his merits as a commentator. Though mainly concerned with logic, he appears also to have lectured on the physical books, even if he did not publish a formal commentary. It should be observed that on p. 28 Zeller's account of Herminius (*Eclectics*, p. 312, Eng. tr.), which is perhaps unduly depreciatory, is shown to require correction. A. C. PEARSON.

De M. Tulli Ciceronis Studiis Rhetoricis Thesim Facultati Litterarum Universitatis Parisiensis proponebat L. LAURAND. Paris. Picard et fils. Pp. xx, 116. Fr. 3.

THIS is a handy but not very important little book written in most un-Ciceronian Latin on the sources of Cicero's theory of Rhetoric. M. Laurand's collection of passages *pour servir* is good, but his conclusions are not striking and his method is far too 'schematic.' Long lists of passages excerpted to prove '*Quid Cicero debuerit*' to Plato, Aristotle, the inevitable Hermagoras and so forth do not help us very much. M. Laurand relies far too much on the rhetorical works and pays far too little attention to the speeches. It is surely clear that, starting from the *praecepta artis* of the 'moderns,' Rhodian or Asiatic Cicero developed a manner and method all his own, which led him in the leisure of retirement to reconsider his early theories. Hence the return to Aristotle and antiquity, suggested in the *de Oratore* and worked out in the *Brutus*. In the section *quid Ciceronis in arte proprium* M. Laurand shows that he has at least considered this point: it is a pity he did not develop it.

Two Dramatizations from Virgil: 1. Dido. 2. The Fall of Troy. Arranged and translated into English verse by F. J. MILLER. Stage directions and music by J. R. NELSON. Chicago: University Press. \$1.08 post paid.

THIS book is practical: it contains minute directions for staging, costume, and scenery (with illustrations); it also gives some rather attractive music, in which certain lines are set to airs with careful attention to quantity. It is therefore to be recommended to any who may wish to try the experiment of putting the *Aeneid* on the stage. But it is not possible to speak with the same praise of the verse. *The Fall of Troy* is in blank verse, and may pass muster; but the *Dido* is in Alexandrians, a most monotonous

measure, quite unsuited to a long piece in English. They are unrimed; and they seem to be made by chopping up sentences into so many feet. See e.g. p. 19:

'Away with all your cares. My cruel fortune and
My yet unstable throne compel me thus to guard
My bounds with wide and jealous watch.'

The speeches are too long, and there is a stiffness about the action.

BLOOMFIELD'S *VEDIC CONCORDANCE*.

A Vedic Concordance. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the John Hopkins University, Baltimore. Harvard Oriental Series. Volume X. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1906. Royal 4to, xxiv + 1078.

IN this magnificent work, which has occupied its author for fifteen years, we have for the first time a complete index to the Vedic mantras; that is, every line or *pāda* of every stanza appears in the alphabetic order of its first word. In addition, we have the whole of the prose formulas included in the Vedic literature. The whole number of entries must be about 75,000, of which 40,000 are from the Rigveda, and over 10,000 from the Atharvaveda. The value of the work is thus evident. It is in the first place a collection of critical material for students of the Rig- and Atharvavedas. They will find in it all the verses which may serve either directly to interpret the Vedic texts or by their perversion of it to indicate the direction in which it was most liable to corruption. The comparative philologist, again, will find here a complete collection of the earliest remains of Sanskrit literature. Further, the student of ritual will be enabled to refer rapidly to any treatment of a ritual practice with which a particular mantra is regularly associated.

The production of a concordance on this scale on the basis of a literature which is not completely published or readily accessible, is a task of which the burden cannot easily be appreciated, and which is lightened not by the interest of present discovery, but only by the foretaste of the success of future generations. It is a work perhaps of which only members of Professor Whitney's school are capable. The scholar who has achieved it can at any rate view with a smile the terrors of the law, for fifteen years at the treadmill would hardly involve more monotony or more self-suppression. Professor Bloomfield has in return the scholar's reward, in seeing before him a result which is perfect in every detail, and forms an indispensable contribution to the study of his subject. At the same time the production of such a work is no small tribute to the value of classical studies, seeing that no less than ten out of thirteen coadjutors of Professor Bloomfield are actively engaged in the teaching either of Greek or of Latin. Great Britain may also claim no small share in this work, for Professor Macdonell has indirectly made substantial contributions to it, and the authorities of the Clarendon Press have the credit of the fine typography and extraordinarily accurate revision of the text.

E. V. A.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

A JOINT Committee on Terminology has been appointed by the Classical Association and several other educational bodies, to consider how far it may be possible to simplify and to unify the technical terms used in different languages. Perhaps this may lead up to a series of coordinated school grammars, like the larger scheme of Prof. Sonnenschein. Such series have already been begun in Germany, Holland, and we believe elsewhere.

A proposal has also been made for a Vacation School, in which demonstrations might be given of improved methods in classical teaching. Time and place have yet to be arranged; but it will hardly be doubted that such a school, with free discussion and criticism amongst a number of teachers, must be useful.

MR. A. C. BENSON has returned to the charge in the *Church Family Newspaper*, where he sets forth his simplified scheme for secondary schools. The main outlines of this are familiar from his letter in the *Morning Post* (see *The Year's Work*, 1908, p. 2), and he still shows his disbelief in Latin and Greek

for all but the very few. The great majority of schoolmasters still remain silent, and leave the forces of disintegration to work without any attempt to meet them.

ATTENTION should be called to Mr. Justice Malden's address, to Trinity College Classical Society, on the early history of classical learning in Ireland (Longmans, 1908). This subject still awaits its explorer; but enough is said to disclose an unexpected state of things. It may have been known that in the early centuries of our era Ireland kept the light of learning alight, and in particular that Greek was studied in her universities; but it is a surprise to learn how good were the Irish schools under the native chieftains, before wars destroyed the whole system. Yet even in the seventeenth century (about 1689) Sir Richard Cox says: 'In the present day, very few of the Irish aim at any more than a little Latin, which every cowboy pretends to, and a something of logic.' In the sixteenth century Latin was the common medium of intercourse with strangers.

VERSIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

PATIENCE ON A MONUMENT.

THERE once was a man who said, 'Well,
Will nobody answer this bell?

I have rung day and night
Till my hair has grown white,
And yet nobody answers the bell.'

E. Lear.

ΚΑΡΤΕΡΙΑ.

ἀνὴρ τις ἦν δα ξυμφορᾷ νικώμενος,
'ὑπακούσεται τὰρ' οὐτις ἐξηρτημένῳ
τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ συνεχῶς ἡμέρας νύκτας θ' ὁμῶς
κώδωνος οὕτως, μεχρὶ τοῦ γήρας χρόνῳ
μακρῇ χνοάζειν τοῦτο λευκανθὲς κᾶρα;
κάμοι ποθ' ὑπακούει τις; οὐτις οὐδὲ γρῦν.'

R. Y. T.

THREE BLIND MICE.

Three blind mice (*ter*)
See how they run! (*ter*)
They all run after the farmer's wife,
Who cut off their tails with a carving-knife.
Did you ever see such a sight in your life
As three blind mice?

ΤΡΙΣΑΘΛΙΟΙ.

Μὲν μὲν οὔδε τρεῖς σκότον δεδορκότες
ἴδασθε δ' οἶψ' βουκόλου κατωκᾶρα
δρόμῳ φέρονται μετὰ γυναιχ' ὀρμῇ μιᾷ,
ἢ κοπίδος οὐρὰς καιρῇ τρισσὺς γνάθῳ
ἀπέταμεν, ὦ λειξίκακε τοῦ θεάματος,
οὐ ποῖον ἦν ἄλγιον εἰσορᾶν ποτε;

R. Y. T.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

Britain.—The beginning of the excavation of Maumbury Rings has been reported by Mr. H. St. George Gray, who directed the work. The result was to prove beyond doubt that the place was a Roman amphitheatre. A hard chalk floor was found within the Rings, covered with a gravelly substance which is supposed to have been used as sand to dress the surface of the arena. Roman pottery and other remains were found at this level. Where the entrance joined the arena, an almost circular patch of stone pavement was discovered, beneath which was a shallow depression in the chalk. A row of six post-holes, at intervals of three feet, was also found in this part, and near the holes were several fragments of Samian and New Forest wares, and a *dupondius* of Claudius. An embankment and more post-holes were also found; but the arrangement of the entrance will not be understood until the excavation is complete. A cutting into the surrounding embankment revealed no trace of steps or even ledges for the accommodation of the spectators.¹

Greece.—The preservation and restoration of ancient monuments, which is now proceeding generally in Greece, has been carried out also in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigaleia in Arcadia). The frieze of this temple was excavated by C. R. Cockerell and others in 1812, and occupies a room in the British Museum. At the same time excavations at a deeper level, ten feet below the ancient ground, have laid bare the floor of an older sanctuary, which is dated by Corinthian vases and bottles in the shape of beasts to the seventh century B.C. Among the remains of votive offerings were many pieces of armour in miniature, such as bronze corselets, shields and greaves, which were evidently dedications to Apollo in his character of Epikourios.

At Corinth the exploration has been mainly topographical, and has thrown much light upon the position of streets, fortifications and harbour. One of the earliest discoveries was the Odeion, which was found where Pausanias describes it, half-way between the theatre and the fountain Glauke. It is a large building, nearly a hundred yards in diameter, and very similar in construction to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus at Athens; it is said by Philostratus actually to have been built by this person. Of the recent finds the most interesting is one which casts suspicion upon the methods of the Greek oracle. Opposite a sacred precinct, upon which, according to an inscription, trespass was forbidden by the penalty of eight drachmas fine, there stands a small shrine or *heroön*. This is raised on a high platform, against which is built a limestone retaining-wall; and on the wall is a frieze

of metopes, of which one is movable and gives access to a narrow passage. The passage leads under the pavement of the temple to a funnel-shaped hole in the floor, through which the voice of the oracle is supposed to have been heard.

The numerous cist-graves of prehistoric date which were discovered in 1906 near Chalcis in Euboea have been further excavated. They are of Cypriote type, of which only one example has been found on the mainland, at Corinth. The contents include the stone vessels and crude marble images which are characteristic of the primitive civilisation of the Cyclades; and the close connection with the islands is marked by a peculiar type of flat vase with the handle in the shape of a horizontal plate. On the other hand, there is no trace of Boeotian or Thessalian pottery of the same period. The date is put at about 2000 B.C. Some half-dozen tombs of bee-hive form are valuable for the history of Mycenaean culture in Euboea. Quantities of prehistoric pottery which have been found recently at Elateia, Chaironeia, and other Boeotian sites also tend to prove that the early civilisation of these parts of the mainland was distinct from that of the Aegean islands, and more subject to influence of the north than of the south.

The investigation of deep-lying strata which Dörpfeld has been conducting for some time at Olympia, were brought to an end in May. From finds on the sites of the Heraion and the Pelopion and between them and the Metroön it is demonstrated that the place was occupied in the prehistoric period. There came to light remains of older structures made of rubble and clay, some of which have the form of a rectangle with a semicircular apse which appears later in the Bouleuterion. Among the smaller objects were pottery, monochrome and with incised decoration, obsidian and flint implements and polished stone axe-heads. Nothing was found which can be certainly identified as Mycenaean, and there is no evidence of the exact date at which the settlement became a sanctuary.²

The best find of the year artistically was a large number of painted tombstones at Pagasai in Thessaly. In the last century B.C. a tower built in the fifth century was enlarged by the construction of an outer wall, and the space thus created was filled with the spoils of a neighbouring graveyard. The fragments which have just been discovered are more than a thousand in number, and are decorated with coloured paintings instead of reliefs. The inscriptions which they bear date them in the third and second centuries B.C. By the peculiar circumstances of their concealment many of them are well preserved,

¹ *Times*, Dec. 26, 1908.

² *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1908, ii.

and these are unique documents of Greek art. The subjects of the pictures are mostly similar to those of the familiar sculptured slabs, scenes from domestic life, and greetings or farewells of friends; but one at least has something new to offer in a representation of the death of a woman in childbirth. The interior of a room is shown, with the mother lying in the foreground; by her bed sits an attendant, while the nurse carries the infant towards the door, through which is seen another girl in the distance. The conventions of perspective and other difficulties of drawing are perfectly understood. The paintings generally bear a strong resemblance to the wall-paintings of Pompeii. They are now in the newly established museum at Volo. The only similar tombstones hitherto known were found in Boeotia, and are now in the Museum of Thebes (*Bull. de. Corr. Hell.*, xxvi, 1902, pl. 7, 8), but these are not in colours. Four, of which three were discovered in the excavations of 1894-5 at Amathous in Cyprus, are in the British Museum; but as they have never been reproduced, their existence is not generally recognised.¹

Italy.—Although the work of excavation has been carried on without interruption in Rome, no find of great importance can be recorded. Commendatore Boni is exploring the neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus, and has discovered, under the arch, remains of earlier buildings. Two of the walls he identifies as having belonged to the earlier Temple of Jupiter Stator. Among the smaller objects was a collection of eighty-six seals in glass paste, and some fragments of lamps, which were found in a small drain. Other fragments of pottery, a large quantity of lamps, of which many were painted, and many fine pieces of the red Arretine ware, were among the remains of a house of the Republican period on the Clivus Sacer. Fragments of architectural ornaments were also found, one having a stork modelled in low relief against a blue background. The house itself is built in *opus reticulatum*, and presents a curious array of small rooms, courtyards and passages. In many of these the mosaic pavements are still preserved. The plan is not altogether clear, but there appears to have been an underground portion, where some of the floors show brick ridges that once supported beds. The walls of one of the small rooms were filled with nails, and are said to show traces of at least twenty coats of paint and whitewash; some marks of an inscription in red letters are visible, and bundles of Bacchic thyrsi, bound together with red ribbon, are a motive of decoration. Another part of the house contained baths. In the same district were found ruins of the ancient granaries and other public buildings. On the right of the Clivus Palatinus appeared a shrine for the *lares publici* according to the worship restored by Augustus.

On the north side of the Forum, the excavation of the *Basilica Aemilia*, which was begun in 1899, is being continued. The building was erected first in 179 B.C., and became a sort of family monument of the Aemilii. Of the original structure, however, only a small portion remains, built into walls of the Imperial period.²

A curious find has been made quite recently on the slope of the Janiculan Hill, near the Villa Sciarra, where an altar dedicated to the nymph Farina and a shrine of some Syrian deity had been already excavated. The new discovery consists of a small sunk quadrangle, to which three wide steps give access, and which contains a sanctuary, a cell with two niches for figures of the gods. There are also remains of a triangular brick altar in the middle of the courtyard. Inside the cell was found a marble slab, apparently from the entrance of the shrine; this bears an inscription recording its dedication by one Gaionas—*pro salute et reditu et victoria imperatorum augustorum Antonini et Commodi*. Between the cell and the altar was the body of a statue of Jupiter seated, and elsewhere, at various depths, jars full of bones and other sacrificial relics. Two other cells adjoining the courtyard and opening on to it have been discovered. In one of these, on the left of the entrance, was found a small marble statue of Bacchus beside a broken column. The work is said to be Greek, and there are traces of gilding on the head and hands. A basalt figure of an Egyptian deity, probably of the time of Hadrian, and three skeletons laid at full length, were discovered in a niche between the two cells. In front of this niche was the base of an altar, and in a covered cavity in the middle of the base the excavators found a small gilt terracotta statuette of Chronos, nude, and encircled by a snake, in the lower coils of which were several eggs. This must have been deposited in some rite of consecration, which has not yet been explained.³

Some interesting sepulchral monuments have been revealed by excavation outside the Vesuvian Gate at Pompeii. They stand by the side of the road, and are supposed to belong to the suburban cemetery which Pliny speaks of. One of them, an altar decorated in stucco and surrounded by four columns which are also covered with stucco, was erected to an aedile Gaius Vestorius Priscus by his mother Mulvia. It seems to have been originally coloured vermilion. Another is unusually elegant, consisting of a slender shaft supporting a sun-dial and provided with a semi-circular seat at the base. The inscription records that the monument was erected to a lady Septimia by her daughter, and that the town granted the site and two thousand sesterces for the funeral. It is said that this is the identical sun-dial which is represented in the Mosaic of the Philosophers at Naples.

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1908, ii.; 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1908, pl. 1-4.

² *Times*, Dec. 11; Dec. 31, 1908 (T. Ashby); *Standard*, Dec. 28, 1908.

³ *Times*, Feb. 13, 1909.

Sicily.—On a hill near the Doric Temple at Gela have been found the remains of a small archaic temple. They consist mainly of foundations, and only a few fragments of a column-shaft, and an archaic capital have been recovered. There are, however, numerous pieces of terracotta decoration from the entablature; and among the acroteria is an immense gorgoneion, which was originally more

than three feet in diameter. The date is fixed at about the end of the seventh century B.C.¹

E. J. FORSDYKE.

The British Museum.

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1908, ii.; *Notizie d. Scavi*, 1907, p. 38.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

EPICURUS AND LUCRETIUS.

THE letter of W. T. L. in the December number of the *Classical Review* forms an interesting contribution to the elucidation of the very difficult doctrine of the *minimae partes* in Lucr. i. 599-634, and Sections 56-59 of Epicurus' letter to Herodotus; but as I find myself at variance with him in several points of his interpretation alike of Epicurus, Lucretius, and Giussani, I venture to submit to you certain criticisms of your correspondent's views.

1. In the first place W. T. L. suggests that the reason why an atom is invisible is not because it is so small, but because it does not possess quality: 'if an atom were as large as a mountain, it would still be invisible.' This is an ingenious deduction from Epicurean premises, but it cannot, I think, be maintained as sound Epicurean doctrine in the face of such passages as (a), Ep. ad Hdt. 55, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖ νομίζειν πᾶν μέγεθος ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρῇ, i.e. 'lest we may be contradicting the evidence of the senses that atoms are invisible'; or (b), if a clearer statement be wanted, the next sentence but one, 'that the atoms should be of all sizes is not necessary to produce the differences of qualities,' ἀφίχθαι τε ἅμ' ἔδει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁράτας ἀτόμους: 'if the atoms were very big, we should see them'; or (c), by implication, in reference to a passage now lost, Lucr. ii. 498, 9. W. T. L.'s notion seems to come from an inexact recollection of the perfectly correct definition of the atoms given by Giussani on p. 59, 'the atoms, that is, the absolutely invisible, *not only* because of their smallness, *but also* because of their solidity and singleness, which excludes all emission of idols.'

2. 'Atoms, like all finite (ὠρισμένα) bodies, whether "visible" or "invisible," must have parts, that is, "extremities" (ἀκρά, cacumina'), e.g. a right side and a left, to determine their shape . . . But since the finite cannot contain the infinite, there must be a point at which the separation of these parts or "extremities" ceases.' The language here is very loose and indeed misleading, for, so far from the separation of the parts of the atom 'ceasing,' Epicurus' whole point is that it could never even

begin. There seems to be a confusion between the 'visible' object and the atom, between 'parts' and 'extremities.' In the visible object the separation of parts can continue perceptibly until we reach the point when, as W. T. L. has clearly explained in the next paragraph, any more division would put the new section outside the range of sight; an ἀκρόν can only be seen as a part of an ὅγκος. But the atom is itself in the sphere of νοητά what the ὅγκος is in the sphere of αἰσθητά: if it could be divided into its πέρατα, they would be outside the range of creative matter (see 3), for they themselves have no parts.

3. 'Apart from it (the atom), they (the ἀκρά) would be οὐ νοητά, that is, without material parts determining their shape. They are, therefore, as material, inseparable from the body. If isolated from it, they would cease to be matter and become nothing.' They would be 'without material parts,' but they would neither be 'οὐ νοητά,' nor 'nothing,' for they would still have extension (see 4). As Lucr. very carefully explains, 628-634, they would not have the qualities and capacities which are necessary for 'creative matter.'

4. 'The conclusion therefore is, that the atom must have parts (ἀκρά), but these parts themselves are without parts, that is, without extension (ἀμετάβαρα), and therefore cannot be conceived as existing separate from the atoms. Unextended themselves, they merely supply the atom with its extension.' If they were unextended themselves, they could not supply the atom with extension: no combination of mathematical points can make a material body. It is strange that a reading of Giussani should have led to this conclusion, for the one point which he labours above all to establish is that Epicurus was trying to maintain the 'inherent contradiction of materialism' (p. 61) that the πέρατα of the atom have extension but not parts: 'the atom (p. 59) is the minimum of matter, the "extremities" the minimum of extension.' Nor can the very difficult word ἀμετάβαρα mean 'without extension.' The idea is rather that you could not put the 'extremities' in a row and 'pass' mentally from the one to the other, saying 'now I am looking at A, now at B, and so on.' That can only be done with objects large enough to have determined shape and outline, and that implies parts. The πέρατα have

extension but no such determinate and independent shape.

5. W. T. L.'s translation of Lucr. i. 749, is certainly a great improvement on the 'current' translation of Munro, but I would venture to suggest one further alteration: the *quod* in line 752 is surely a relative, not a conjunction, and is exactly parallel to the *quod* of line 750. I should translate: 'although we see that that is the extreme point of anything, which seems, judged by our senses, to be a least part, so that you may infer from this that the extreme point of things which you cannot see, is the least part also for them.' (I agree in accepting Postgate's *et illis*.)

I may perhaps be allowed to use this opportunity to call attention to the one place in which Giussani seems to me to have gone seriously wrong in his interpretation of Epicurus, namely, in the last sentence but one of the section (59 ad fin.), ἡ γὰρ κοινότης ἢ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀμετάβητα ἰκανὴ τὸ μέχρι τούτου συντελέσαι. Giussani renders, 'the common character which the atoms have with sensible things in regard to the *partes minimae*, is that which renders them fit for the completion or rather the creation of things up to the point which we see.' This is very difficult, and necessitates a great deal of reading between the lines. Surely αὐτοῖς is not the atoms but the *πέρατα* of the atoms, πρὸς τὰ ἀμετάβητα is constructed directly after κοινότης, and συντελέσαι is not transitive but intransitive in its regular idiomatic sense. I should translate, 'the community of characteristics which the extremities of the atoms have with the inseparable particles of things perceived, is sufficient to justify their being classed together to this extent' (*i.e.* for the purposes of an analogy from the seen to the unseen); and then he goes on naturally enough to explain where the essential difference comes in, 'but of course it is impossible that the extremities of the atom should ever have been brought together by motion to form an atom' (*sc.* as the ἀμετάβητα of the visible object, being themselves formed of many atoms, were brought together to form the object).

Much of the difficulty of the problem of *minimae partes* disappears, I think, on consideration of the history of the idea. It originated with the statement of Leucippus that the reason of the indestructibility of the atoms (note that here we have Lucretius' context, not Epicurus)—a divergence which has caused Giussani qualms, is τὸ μικρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀμερὲς (Simpl. Phys. p. 925. 10, Diels Frag. ed. 2, Leucippus 13). Now Leucippus doubtless meant by ἀμερὲς 'indivisibility,' but his statement lent a handle to opponents who chose to interpret it 'the fact that they are without parts': what is without parts, they might argue, is without magnitude, and cannot therefore have material being at all. Aristotle, according to Simplicius, was not slow to use this argument, and it is highly probable that earlier critics did too. Democritus shelved the difficulty by suppressing the infelicitous epithet and allowing his atoms to be of some size, but Epicurus characteristically

faced it, and from the quite disproportionate length which his discussion occupies in the letter to Herodotus, we may be sure he was answering opponents and trying to think out his reply on strictly Epicurean lines. Hence his appeal to the sensuous analogy: we can in ordinary life see extremely minute parts of bodies, as parts, which if isolated, would become invisible, though still remaining in the realm of matter: they are the *minima* of the perceptible world. Similarly the atom must have such parts, never existing except as parts of the atom, which, if isolated, would cease to be matter, though they would still have extension: they are the *minima* of the material world. As the size of the visible object is determined by the number of its perceptible *minima*, so is the size of the atom determined by the number of its material *minima*. And then as in other cases (notably at the end of § 62) he scrupulously points out where the analogy breaks down: 'Of course the perceptible *minima* are materially separable one from another and liable to be broken up still further: the material *minima* are not.' His answer is a satisfactory one from the point of view of his own logic, but, as Giussani says, it has not solved 'the insoluble antinomy.' At the bottom of the scale of material existence, we have that which is material, yet can only exist as a part of matter, that which has extension, but no parts. Would the modern scientist be able to make any very different answer?

I hope, that in an endeavour to clear up some difficult points suggested by your correspondent's letter, I have not made darkness worse confounded.

C. B.

CHICAGO, Dec. 2, 1908.

To the Editor, THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

The editors of *Homeric Vocabularies* fully appreciate the extended and careful notice you have given that book. Yet with all his acuteness your reviewer has failed to grasp our problem and method. For our method we may be allowed to say that, while it is obviously not the only one, it has already proved its efficiency, for example in President Harper's *Hebrew Vocabularies*, now in a fifth edition; for our statistics, that they are based on Gehring's *Index Homericus*, where anyone may verify them for himself; and for our meanings, that we may well be excused for failing to satisfy a reviewer who thinks 'great-hearted' for μεγάρημος 'a mere school-boy's rendering.' Is Walter Leaf then a mere school-boy? Your reviewer wishes us to print κορέννυμι, because he finds it in his Homeric dictionary. But he will not find it, or any form from that stem, in Homer, and we have tried not to lead students to expect in Homer forms they will not find there. For the misprints to which your reviewer calls attention, however, we give him hearty thanks.

WILLIAM B. OWEN.
EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

*** Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Besnier* (M.) *Les Catacombes de Rome*, par M.B., Professeur à l'Université de Caen. Avec 20 planches hors texte. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 290. Paris, Laroux. 1909.
- Boesch* (G.) *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 76. Gottingen, University Press. 1908.
- Bury* (J. B.) *The Ancient Greek Historians. (Harvard Lectures.)* $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+282. London, Macmillan & Co. 1909. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Cicero*. M. Tullii Ciceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum libri quinque. With introduction and commentary by W. M. L. Hutchinson. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxxii+238. London, Edward Arnold. 1909. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio pro M. Caelio, recensuit atque interpretatus est Jacobus van Wageningen, $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxxiv+120. Groningae, in aedibus heredum P. Noordhoff. Fl. 1.80. M. 3.
- D'Ooge* (Martin L.) *The Acropolis of Athens.* $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xx+406. With 9 photogravures, 7 plans and 134 figures in the text. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1908. Cloth, 17s. net.
- Ernout* (Alfred) *Les Éléments Dialectaux du Vocabulaire Latin. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris. III.)* $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 256. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1909. Fr. 7.50.
- *Recherches sur l'emploi du passif latin à l'époque républicaine. (Extraits des Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique. Tome XV.)* $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 62. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1909. Fr. 4.
- Hall* (E. H.) *The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 48. 3 plates. Philadelphia, John C. Winston Co. 1907.
- The Hisperica Famina.* Edited, with a short introduction and index verborum, by Francis John Henry Jenkinson. With 3 facsimile plates. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xl+96. Cambridge, University Press. 1908. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Loew* (E.) *Heraklit im Kampfe gegen den Logos. (From Jahresb. d. k.k. Sophiengymnasiums im Wien.)* $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 32. Wien, im Selbstverlage des Verfassers. 1908.
- Masqueray* (Paul) *Euripide et des idées.* $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+406. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1908. Fr. 10.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE TEACHING OF LATIN AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTIONS OF SYNTAX.

Der Mensch begreift niemals wie anthropomorphisch er ist.—GOETHE.

THE teaching of Latin in the schools and colleges of the future will, in the opinion of many authorities, be directed to giving the student the power of reading Latin literature with intelligence and with some appreciation of the finer qualities of the language. Practice in prose composition, which still occupies a large part of the student's attention, will probably be more and more curtailed until it comes to be simply the doing of grammatical exercises, sufficient to give the needful knowledge of the usages of Latin syntax.

My purpose in the present paper is twofold. An endeavour will be made to expound that method of teaching Latin which in my opinion will lead most rapidly and certainly to the end desired, viz., the reading of Latin with intelligent appreciation. At the same time I shall endeavour to show how this method is based upon and throws light on the fundamental facts and laws of human thought and its expression.

Reading with intelligence means that the pupil follows the sense of the passage he is reading, and reads it in such a natural manner that the sense is clearly apprehended by the listener. A pupil may, and often does, read off each single word in the sentence correctly and yet fail to read with intelligence. In what does he come short?

In this—that he has not observed the relationship between the separate words, and does not read them with their proper grouping. For the meaning of a sentence does not flow evenly into our minds, one word after another. Rather it enters, as it has been said, by pulsations—phrase by phrase and clause by clause. Intelligent reading means good word-grouping. When this is achieved, the mind advances from idea to idea by a kind of natural logic in such a manner that the full meaning is realised when the end of the sentence is reached.

Tried by this criterion, very few of our scholars read even easy Latin with intelligence. Even after they know the meaning of a sentence, they approach it as if they were unravelling a tangled skein. And yet to appreciate the form of Latin literature one must read the language as the Romans did—that is, with a clear perception of its peculiar word-grouping.

The study of word-groups—or logical terms, as it is proposed to call them—belongs to the domain of syntax, that part of grammar which treats of the functional relationships of words in a sentence. At the present day the principles of syntax are taught in school mainly under the form of analysis of sentences. It is a valuable exercise for the

cultivation of clear thinking and logical expression for these purposes; but most educationists would agree that there is a good deal of pedantry and formality in connection with it, so that the actual result of the analysis for the pupil is sometimes to darken what it was intended to illuminate.

I go further than this; for I think that the fundamental doctrine of the old analysis—the division of the sentence into subject and predicate—is not wholly correct, and that this analysis is applicable only to one type of sentence, and that not of the greatest importance.

A new analysis of the primitive syntactical conceptions is put forward in this paper. An attempt is made to apply the facts and ideas of the theory of mental development to the theory of syntax, and to exhibit in a concrete and realistic manner the original scheme of syntactical relationships—the primitive categories of the human understanding, as I think they might be called—on which the logic of early speech was based. I hope in this way to recover for our fundamental grammatical ideas some of that original freshness of feeling which has been dulled by the continued use of such abstract and formless terms as *subject*, *indirect object*, *extension of predicate*, *enlargement of subject*, etc.

The analysis of the simple sentence is considered in the first part of the paper, and the complex sentence is briefly dealt with in the second part.

I.—THE SIMPLE SENTENCE.

In analysis the point of attack is all important; and for the student of syntax a consideration of the nature of the verb is the best starting point. The reason is easily given. The verb expresses Action, Doing, Movement; and Action, Doing, Movement are what our bodies are made for, and what, primarily at least, our minds take most interest in. The first intelligent notice the infant takes is directed to the movements and doings of its mother and nurse. In nature's school *Doing it* is the method of instruction employed. She has, therefore, implanted in the child's mind the instinct to observe and to imitate the actions of the persons with whom it lives.

As Action thus claims our first and, indeed, absorbing attention, it follows that the normal type of sentence is that in which an action, generally a human action, is the central idea.

Before proceeding to its analysis, I wish to point out one important result that has followed from this dominant character of the action sentence. Its predominating influence has brought it to pass that all sentences are constructed on its model and a feeling has been engendered that a sentence, if it is to be grammatical, must have a verb, even though it be only the semblance of a verb. This was not originally the case. There were verbless sentences, as, for example, sentences concerning the qualities of a thing. A man tasted a berry and found it good. 'Good berry' was an earlier and more natural way of saying this than 'The berry is good.' In *καλὸς ὁ παῖς* the *ἐστὶ* is not understood, as grammarians assert; it was added in later times. For the substantive use of the verb 'to be' is not primitive. The forms of this verb are no doubt very old, but its present highly abstract meaning must have been evolved comparatively late in the history of speech. The following interesting passage bearing on this point is taken from Professor Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue*:

I one day expressed to an intimate friend my regret that the collectors of vocabularies among savage tribes did not tell us something about the verb 'to be,' and especially I instanced the admirable word-collections of Mr. Wallace. To this conversation I owe the pleasure of being able to quote Mr. Wallace's own observations on this subject in his reply to my friend's query. He says:

'As to such words as "to be," it is impossible to get them in any savage language till you know how to converse in it, or have some intelligent interpreter who can do so. In most of the languages such extremely general words do not exist, and the attempt to get them through an ordinary interpreter would inevitably lead to error. . . . Even in such a comparative high language as the Malay, it is difficult to express "to be" in any of our senses, as the words used would express a number of other things as well, and only serve for "to be" by a roundabout process.'

From Western Australia, where the natives are forming an intermediate speech for communication with our people, and are converting morsels of English to their daily use, we have the following apposite illustrations:—'The words *get down* have been chosen as a synonym for the verb "to be," and the first question of a friendly native would be *Mamman all right get down?* meaning "Is father quite well?"'

The logical copula 'is,' the so-called sign of predication, was evolved later still. A sentence such as 'Man is mortal' does not represent an original type, though grammarians and logicians with their doctrine of subject and predicate often take it as the typical sentence. Predication consists in the mind thinking the ideas *man* and *mortal* together and finding no contradiction in them; it does not lie in the use of 'is,' for 'is' is also used in the question 'Is man mortal?' What purpose then does the insertion of 'is' serve? It simply serves to give a feeling of life and movement and so of greater reality to the sentence.

The doctrine of *subject* and *predicate* makes for clearness of thought in sentences like 'Man is mortal.' But underlying the doctrine is the assumption that every sentence must consist of two parts, one of which—viz., the subject—we know, while the other—the predicate—gives us information concerning the subject. But as we shall see immediately, in most sentences there are not simply two ideas, but often four or five absolutely distinct ideas; and the mind must think all four or five together.

We now begin the work of analysing the simple sentence; but the new analysis promised will turn out to be a very ancient analysis indeed, older than the scientific study of grammar. For the method will be simply to use that ancient and interesting family of words, the interrogative pronouns and adverbs. Taking the action as our central idea, we shall ask: (1) 'Who did it?' (2) 'On whom was it done?' (3) 'For whom was it done?' (4) 'How was it done?' (5) the interrogative of place—'Where?' 'Whence?' 'Whither?' and 'How far?' (6) the interrogatives of time—'When?' and 'How long?'

The answer to these questions, it will be found, cover most of the field of primitive thought.

It will be observed that one important interrogative has been omitted—viz., 'Why?' It will be discussed later on when we come to the complex sentence.

We shall consider the first two questions together—'Who did it?' and 'On whom

was it done?'—subject and object, as they are called: for, being antithetic, they will illustrate one another.

Victor and victim, slayer and slain, eater and eaten, give the primitive ideas of these two grammatical conceptions. In his early struggle for existence on the earth when the larger carnivora were still common, man's energy must have been mainly directed to the two great ends of (1) killing that he might eat and (2) escaping the fate of being eaten. But we shall perceive more clearly the different feelings associated with the ideas of subject and object, if we consider the words for the first personal pronoun when used as subject and object respectively—viz., 'I' and 'me'; for it is from the thoughts and feelings we have of ourselves that we obtain our ideas of the thoughts and feelings of other people. From the thoughts and feelings of ourselves as subject and object, we come by our thoughts of subject and object in general. Contrast, therefore, the words 'I' and 'me.' Though the person referred to is the same, there is so much difference in feeling that we use two different words.

This mysterious sense of *personal agency* is the origin of our conception of the grammatical subject. One objection to this theory will readily suggest itself: 'What of the passive voice? In it the object of the action becomes the subject.' But the history of the passive confirms the theory. For the passive voice was late in development and was impersonal in its origin, and the object of the action remained in the accusative. 'Saxum frangitur' really meant 'Breaking is done on the stone,' *frangitur* being impersonal and *saxum* accusative.

As regards the primitive conception of the object, I believe we shall not be very far from the facts if we picture mentally to ourselves the effect of a heavy blow which, inflicted on a man, would stun him and paralyse his powers of willing and acting; or, if inflicted by him, would reduce the erstwhile active body of his victim to the condition of inert matter. The blow of the civilised man takes the shape of an action at law. And so we find that the Greek name for the object was the 'categoric' case,

the case of the defendant, or, as the Latin grammarians put it, the 'accusative.'

The third question concerning the action was: 'For whom was it done?' *Cui bono?*—the indirect object, as it is called in English grammar. The appellation is unfortunate, but the Latin name is excellent—dative, the person to whom it is given, the recipient. But we shall perhaps best conceive of the indirect object as the *person interested*. Man is more than gregarious; he is social; and his highest social faculty is the faculty of speech. The commonest example of the indirect object is the person spoken to, for to be spoken to is the simplest form of social recognition.

The fourth question concerning the action was: 'How was it done?' This in its most concrete meaning refers to the instrument employed. Man's first instruments were, no doubt, those given him by nature—hands, feet, teeth.

The fifth question deals with the ideas of place and primarily expresses itself in the three interrogatives, *whence*, *where*, and *whither*. The interrogative *how far* comes later. The pre-eminence of the animal lies largely in its power of locomotion. Liberty of movement bulks largely in man's subconscious mind. If he has it, he is free; when it is curtailed, he feels caged and is restless and uneasy. From his power of locomotion spring man's quantitative ideas of space. Just as the idea of device comes mainly through the use of the hand, so the first definite knowledge of the properties of space has been developed through the use of the legs.

The questions with regard to the time of the action—the *when* and *how long* of it—form our sixth category. There is a very intimate connection between our thoughts of time and our thoughts of motion. Perhaps our first idea of abstract time was gathered from the deep-seated feeling of the rhythmic movement of our life. The beating of the heart, with its regular periodic and barely perceptible movement, may be the origin of our idea of the ceaseless, steady passing of time.

From our apprehension of the passing of time, however obtained, we get the ideas of

past, present, and future; and so closely do we associate time and action that the time of the action is always indicated by the form of the verb.

The ordinary definite periods of time, as conceived by primitive mankind, were, no doubt, night and day, evening and morning, the year and its seasons, and his own life with its successive ages of childhood, youth and manhood.

The Indo-Germanic Case System.—We have now completed our study of the fundamental terms of the simple sentence; and an important and interesting fact calls for attention. If the scheme of primitive logical relationships detailed above be examined critically, it will be found to coincide almost exactly with the original Indo-Germanic case system. Thus the Nominative expresses the doer or agent: the Accusative, the person *on whom* the action is done; the Instrumental, the thing *with which* it is done; the Ablative, the place *whence*; the Locative, the place *where*. By an easily felt analogy the Accusative expresses the place *whither* and also the space *how far* (for powers of locomotion overcome the resistance of space and distance). By another intimately-felt analogy, time *when* and time *how long* are expressed by the same cases as the corresponding ideas of space.

One case, it will be observed, has not yet been mentioned—the Genitive. It is adjectival in nature, not adverbial; that is, it expresses association not between a thing and an action but between two things. The English designation for it—Possessive—is a good name, one of the most important associations being that recognised between owner and property.

The Teaching of an Inflected Language.—We are now in a position to apply the results of our analysis to language teaching.

The fundamental question concerning any language is: 'In what manner does it express these primitive logical relationships?'

Latin is an inflected language; and, if the Ablative be treated as a composite case, comprising the Instrument, the True Ablative and the Locative (the two latter being distinguished by the propositions *ab*, *ex* and *in*), the Latin case system can be made to

correspond completely with the primitive Indo-Germanic.

The difference between inflected Latin and uninflected English will be best exhibited if we endeavour to represent in English the force of the inflections in a Latin sentence.

Here is a typical English sentence :

In the evening, on the bank of the river, the hunter with his arrows killed a stag for his wife and children.

If this were expressed in Latin, the effect of the inflections might be thus represented in English :

Evening the time, the bank of the river the place, hunter the agent, his arrows the instrument, his wife and children the persons interested, stag the object, killed the action.

It will be observed in the first place that in an inflected language the order of the terms is free.

In the second place, the movement of the sentence is slower, but the meaning comes more impressively.

The freedom of the order of the different terms in Latin, and the force of the inflections, are strikingly shown in connection with the adjective. In English the attributive adjective is placed beside the noun it qualifies, as *proud man*, *fair woman*; while in Latin the connection is shown by the adjective having the same inflection as the noun it qualifies—that is to say, the speaker gives the adjective the same attitude—the same logical relationship—to the action. Accordingly it does not require to be placed beside the noun it qualifies; it may be removed from its noun by the whole length of the sentence. It is, in fact, almost substantival. For example, in the sentence given above ('Evening the time,' etc.), the adjectival phrases 'sharp the instrument,' 'fat the object,' might be inserted among the terms in any order we please, and yet it would be evident that 'sharp' goes with 'arrows' in meaning and fat with 'stag.'

In the following two passages the primitive feelings associated with the nominative and accusative cases still survive. Compare the lines

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
and

Felicem Nioben quamvis tot funera vidit
Quae posuit sensum saxea facta mali.

These are two of those early verbless sentences to which reference has been made. Why is the predicate *felix* in the first and *felicem* in the second? Because *qui potuit* in the first gives the thought of activity, while the mental image of Niobe is that of a victim, motionless and insensible. In the common ejaculation *me miserum* we have a parallel construction to *felicem*, but it will be felt that the meaning of *miserum* harmonises better with the meaning of the accusative, indeed there is something of an oxymoron in *felicem* thus used.

The bearing of these ideas on the teaching of Latin Grammar is easily seen. Of late years there has been an immense improvement in the method of teaching Latin accidence. The doctrine of stem and inflection has firmly established itself. The *anatomy* of the language is now well taught. The next step forward will be to improve the teaching of the *physiology*. The doctrine of the life and use of inflections must be placed on a more scientific basis.

As a commencement to this improvement, two cases should be added to the present case system—viz., the Instrumental and the Locative, which pupils should no longer be allowed to confuse with the Ablative. But, if the views put forward in this paper are correct, their main effect as regards practical teaching should be felt in the actual process of reading Latin. In the language of the professional psychologist, the reader would approach his task with a different 'apperceiving mass.' The doctrine of subject and predicate would not be so prominent in his consciousness, but he would instinctively think of one term as telling the *time*, of another as telling the *place*, another the *agent*, and so on to the conclusion of the sentence.

II.—THE COMPLEX SENTENCE.

The two characteristic terms of the complex sentence—the participial phrase and the clause—now demand our attention.

The participial phrase is the more flexible and vivid of the two. The wealth of participial forms in Greek is one of the characteristic beauties of the language. English also has a very effective participle in *-ing*. A group of these participles gives to a sentence what has been called 'a

feeling of radiant activity,' as in the following lines from Walt Whitman—

Splendour of ended day floating and filling me,
Hour prophetic, hour resuming the past.

Latin, on the other hand, is weak as to its participial system. The so-called present participle has only a limited use. The most useful of all the participles, the perfect participle active, is wanting—a great defect in the language. Shift has to be made with the perfect participle passive, and the useful construction known as the Ablative Absolute has been developed. It is, however, but an awkward substitute for an active participle, as will be seen by comparing *Dux, hostibus victis* with *ὁ στρατηγὸς νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους*.

One common error in grammatical analysis should be noticed here. In analysis of sentences it is the usual custom to take all participial phrases without exception as adjectival and regard them as enlargements of the subject or the object as the case may be. This is not correct, for while a participle may be attributive, it is much more frequently adverbial. Its function is best seen by turning it into a clause. If the clause is adjectival, then the participial phrase is adjectival; but, if the clause is adverbial, so also must be the phrase. This distinction is clearly effected in Greek by the use of the article, as will be seen by comparing *ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ νικήσας* and *ὁ στρατηγὸς νικήσας*.

The weakness of the participial system in Latin gives all the greater importance to the clause. The typical Latin sentence is the long, logically constructed, carefully modulated sentence which is called the period. To the modern mind such a sentence seems complicated; as Jowett has said, 'Modern languages have rubbed off this adversative and inferential form; they have fewer links of connexion, there is less mortar in the interstices; and they are content to place sentences side by side, leaving their relation to one another to be gathered from their position or from the context.'

To follow the meaning of the Latin period, it is of the first importance to understand the nature of the clause; and it will be useful to cite the parallel of the algebraic bracket. A clause is something

enclosed. Just as in the bracket the curved lines enclosing the terms attract the eye of the student, so in the clause the words that mark the beginning and end are of special importance. The introductory word is generally of pronominal origin, is easily recognisable, and indicates the nature of the clause. The word marking the conclusion is the verb, and in many cases it is put in the subjunctive, so that in the popular consciousness the subjunctive mood, as its name indicates, came to be regarded as the mood of the subordinate clause.

The observation should also be made that, as in algebra one may have brackets within brackets, so a clause may, and often does, contain among its terms subordinate clauses and phrases.

Only the briefest survey is possible here of the various types of clause. They fall into three classes—adjectival, substantival and adverbial.

Adjectival clauses are simple and do not call for any remark.

Substantival clauses consist of reported questions, statements and commands. It is not necessary to say more here on these clauses than that a long narrative can be told clearly in the *oratio obliqua* in Latin, its reported character being in evidence all the time. This is a considerable achievement. The following extract from an Ulster narrative will illustrate some of the difficulties of the man who wrestles with the problem of indirect speech in an uninflected language:

Ses I to him, ses I, 'That coo o' yours,' ses I, 'she'll no be verra contint the night,' I ses to him—like that, d'ye mind?

'Och,' ses he, 'the coo's all right,' ses he, he ses to me. 'All right,' ses I, 'all right: but,' ses I, 'I don't think,' ses I, 'as she's pertickler comfortable,' ses I; 'I wudn't say she was,' ses I. 'Don't bother yerself,' ses he, 'he ses; 'the coo's strange; that's all,' ses he.

'She's strange,' ses I, 'av coorse; but,' ses I, I ses, 'I wudn't call it comfortable,' ses I, 'hingin wi' a broken leg between two powls,' ses I, just that way, d'ye mind?

Adverbial clauses are by far the most important, and are of many types. But a general survey of the adverbial clause, sufficient for our purpose, will be effected if we consider that the principles on which actions and events are associated in our minds must

follow the great laws of the Association of Ideas. Hume, one of the great exponents of these laws, classified them under three headings—contiguity, similarity, and cause and effect.

Contiguity is not of great importance in this connection. It gives us clauses of *place* and *time*.

Similarity gives us the important clauses of *manner* and *comparison*.

But the idea of cause and effect is of predominating importance, as nothing produces a stronger feeling of connection in the human mind than the perception of this logical relationship. Under this heading would be classified all the numerous *Cum Causale* clauses, which give the precedent circumstances from which the main action springs, and the equally numerous *Ut* clauses of purpose and consequence which give the subsequent actions that arise or are intended to arise out of the main action. Under this heading also fall all the *Si* clauses which represent the idea of cause and effect in its most highly developed form—that of condition.

It may be remarked that Hume's threefold division does not quite cover all the ground; e.g. clauses of concession find no place under any one of his three headings.

We are now in a position to apply our principles to the reading of an elaborately constructed sentence, such as a Ciceronian period. It will help us if we realise that these long sentences, which seem so complicated to the average student, must as a matter of fact have not been so difficult to follow. This can be readily shown. Many of Cicero's most celebrated speeches were addressed to political meetings in the Forum, and were delivered to large miscellaneous audiences. Now, the orator who addresses such meetings must at all costs be clear. People will not give a patient hearing to a man whom they cannot understand. It may be assumed, therefore, that his hearers followed Cicero's rounded periods without any consciousness of the difficulty of their structure. How did they do this? There was but one possible method. The hearer's thought advanced from idea to idea as expressed in the successive terms, each idea persisting in his consciousness more or less

distinctly, according to its emphasis, on to the conclusion of the sentence, on reaching which the completed meaning of the whole sentence presented itself to his mind.

The student's success in attaining a similar facility in *reading* will depend on his ability to recognise promptly and accurately the word-grouping of the sentence. He will find that the framework of the sentence lends him assistance. The word-groups, whether clauses or participial phrases or simple terms, are distinctly marked and are logically connected. When the earlier portion of the sentence has been intelligently read, the reader will often be able to anticipate the form of what is going to follow. An adjective suggests a noun. An adverb of degree or manner, such as *ita* or *sic*, makes him look forward to a clause of consequence. A verb of petitioning or ordering calls for an indirect command. A *non modo* ushering in one term must be followed by a *sed etiam* introducing a similar term. The grammatical scheme of the sentence will reveal itself to him as he reads.

The following is a good specimen of a Latin period from Livy, although, judged according to modern ideas, an excessive amount of matter has been compressed into it:

Ibi cum Herculem, cibo vinoque gravatum, sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit.

In conclusion the following suggestion is put forward for the improvement of the class-teaching of Latin. Under the guidance of the teacher the class should frequently practise reading the lesson aloud simultaneously, pausing at the end of each term so that they may gather the meaning as they read, and dispensing as far as may be with translation. In this reading the teacher should endeavour to cover as much ground as possible. For it is only by extensive reading that the pupils will become familiar enough with the general scheme of a Latin sentence to recognise its structure at sight.

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A NEW FRAGMENT OF ALCAEUS.

THE following restoration of part of one of the new fragments of Alcaeus¹ is based on a photograph of the papyrus kindly supplied to me by Dr. W. Schubart. At first sight it would seem a well-nigh hopeless task to restore so mutilated a fragment with any degree of probability. But there is really a good deal to help us. Not only have we the metre and the dialect to guide us, and the general test of literary and linguistic suitability, but there is what in similar cases has been too often disregarded, the necessity of making all the suggested beginnings of the lines correspond in written length. Given these conditions, it is surprising how few alternatives are possible. In the present case the restorations are all based on careful tracing from extant parts of the MS, and the beginnings of the lines coincide with a vertical line drawn parallel to the fibre of the papyrus.

The poem explains itself. The scene is a chamber opening on a harbour, and the time is early in the forenoon of a hot summer's day. Alcaeus, roused to energy by the cool morning air, urges a less active companion to make a speedy end of the breakfast-drinking and come for a sail. They have only, he says, to go aboard their boat, set sail, and cast off; and they will spend a far jollier day, in fact (here the wine-bibber is betrayed by his metaphor) it will be as good fun as a long draught of wine. To add force to his appeal, he gives the lazy friend a picture of himself, lolling back on the couch with hands folded, refusing to budge. Let Alcaeus, the poet pretends him to say, speak for himself; as for him, he will call for unguent and spend a hot day in repose, unperturbed by the other's bluster.

TEXT.

.]τε κατθάγη
]ς δόμοις
]αν
]έκεσθαι
 5]εν οὐ ζέται
]ωμένω

¹ First published in 1907 in *Berliner Klassiker-texte*, Heft V 2, P. 9810, by W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

.]επει
]σης.
 10 μὴ πλεῖδ]ν ἀρύστηρ' ἐς κέραμεν μέγαν
 τί τόσσ]α μόχθης, τοῦτ' ἔμεθεν σύνεις,
 ὥς οὐ τι] μὴ τῷξ αἶδος ἄλλως
 ἄμμαρ ἔ]μοι μεθύων ἀείσης;
 τί γὰρ θα]λάσσας φειδόμεθ', ὥς κάρων
 χεῖμω]νοεῖδην αἶθρον ἐπήμενοι;
 15 αἱ δ' ἐν]τάθεντες ὡς τάχιστα
 κάπριγ]άδαν καμάκων ἔλοντες
 ἄπ νᾶα] λύσαμεν προτ' ἐνώπια
 κέρα τρο]ποντες, καὶ κ' ἰθαρώτεροι
 φύημ]εν ἱλλάνεντι θύμωι
 20 ἀντὶ δ'] ἀμύστιδος ὄργον εἶη.
 φαῖς δ' ὦρ]γον ἄρταις χέρρα σὺν Φεμμάτων
 ὑπερθε χέρρι. "Ε]μωι φ[ερέ]τω κάραι
 μύρραν τις· οὐ γὰρ] εἰστίθῃσιν
 Φάδμεν' ἔμοιγ' ὅ]δε ταῦδ' ἀοίδαι.
 25 οὐ μὰν ταρα]σσης,] ἄγρι' αὐτά, μοι
 ψύχαν, ὃ γε βρύχων] ἄτε πῶρ μέγα
 τίθησθα

CRITICAL NOTES.

All the lines began directly under one another, the stanzas being prob. marked by the paragraphos 9 Pap. prob. πλειν 10 α is probable before μοχθεῖς (*sic*) 11 Pap. τῷξ not τῷξ: the 'μέση στιγμή' after αλλως in the Pap. Dr. Schubart kindly tells me may be an accidental blot like others near it, especially as there are no stops elsewhere,¹ and moreover the μέση is rare in MSS of this date 13 Pap. φειδομεθῶς: Pap. κηρον, which is unmetrical: W. κῆρον, comparing l. 1, which he reads τεκαιθακη, but that need not be θάκη 16 Pap. prob. καιπριγαδαν 18 ἰθαρώτεροι, W. compares Hesych. 19 ἱλλάνεντι, S. = ἱλάνεντι = ἱλαρῶι: Pap. θυμωι indistinct but almost certain, see on 22 20 Pap. εργον 21 Pap. prob. αργον, but the letter before ο may be τ: Pap. μεμμάτων, cf. Sa. 2. 13 ἀ δὲ Φίδρωσ κακχέεται where MSS read μ' ἰδρωσ; similarly in Sa. 2. 1 φαίνεται Φοι (i.e. ἐαντῶι) κῆνος ἵσος θεοῖσιν may be right despite Catullus, for Apollonius Dysc. *de Pron.*

¹ Unless in l. 27; and if that is a μέση, this must be accidental.

336 A quotes from Sappho the words *φαίνεται* *Φοι κήνος*,¹ and in fr. 89 *Fe*=*ἐαντήν*, cf. also fr. 117². . . 22 below *γοναρτ* in the line above there are very small remains of the tops of letters which may be *ρριε*, below *αι* a curved stroke which I take to be the left-hand half of *μ*, and below *χ* a small piece of the right-hand curve of *ω*; the last down-stroke of the *μ* was shortened before the *ω*, and there was no break between the two letters; the same must have been the case in *θυμω* l. 19: in *φέρειτω ερε* fits the gap, and *τ* though indistinct is certain: Pap. *καραι* 24 Pap. prob. *γαδμεν* or *φαδμεν* Meist. Ahr. p. 105, or else one of the elided vowels was written: in *ῶδε*, *δ* is almost certain: Pap. *ταυδαοιδα*. Between ll. 25 and 26 a space, but not sufficient to contain another line, prob. to avoid a spongy spot 26 Pap. *αττε*, which is unmetrical 27 Pap. after *τιθησθα* a very short horizontal dash just above the line 28 there are marks which may be very faint traces of this line.

(On the right, opposite ll. 1-3, traces of another column, with a > opposite ll. 3 and 4.)

TRANSLATION.

.
Mix no more into the great bowl; why labour'st so, when I tell thee that never will I have thee to waste the day from dawn onward in drunkenness and song? O why spare we to use the sea, suffering the winter-cool freshness of the morn to pass like a drunken sleep? If we would but go quickly aboard, take the rudders in our grasp, and loose the ship from her moorings, turning the sailyard to front the breeze, then merrier should we be and light of heart, and 't would be as good work as a right long draught of wine. But thou, linking one idle hand in another over thy robe, sayest 'As for me, bring they myrrh for my head; for I am little pleased with that this fellow putteth into this song of his. Never think thou troublest my soul, thou wild clamourer, though thou roarest like a great fire and makest'

¹ But 335 A the first one and a half lines of the Ode with *μοι*.

² Bergk⁴.

COMMENTARY.

It will be seen that the whole of my restoration depends on the interpretation of *τωξανος*. (1) If *αῖος* is the genitive of the word for 'dawn,' it has no parallel elsewhere in Lesbian; but on the other hand there is no genitive of the word extant in that dialect till quite late times. Apollonius Dysc. *de Adv.* p. 183 l. 21 (Schneider) mentions among *μεταπλασμοί*, the word *αῖα* as used by Sappho. I take *αῖα* to be an accusative, representing an earlier *ἄφοα* or *αῖοα* the probable original of *Ἡὼ διαν*, *Il.* 9. 240 et al. Of the corresponding genitive we get a glimpse in Pindar *Nem.* 6. 52, where the MSS read *αῖος* but the metre requires *αῖος*. If Sappho used *αῖα* for the accusative, Alcaeus might have used *αῖος* for the genitive. (2) An alternative is to take *ἔξανος* as the neuter of an adjective *ἔξαιως* meaning *ὁ ἐξ ἔω*, cf. *ἔξηγος*, *ἔξωρος*.

9 *πλεῖν*: this form, classed as Ionic and Doric, was probably also Lesbian (some read *πνεῖν* Pind. *P.* 4. 225); cf. *βέλεις* (gen.) Alc. 15. 4, *ῶρχενιτ'* Sa. 54. 2, and the forms *Θενδαμος* and *Θενδαίτης* on coins, v. Meister-Ahrens i. p. 98.

κέραμεν: infinitive of *κέραιμι* used as imperative; elsewhere the Lesbian form is *κέρναν*, but Alcaeus and Sappho sometimes use Homeric forms for metrical reasons; cf. Sa. 78, 1 and 2 for infin. as imp. and for an Homeric form.

10 *μόχθης*: from *μόχθημι*; *μόχθησθα* would be used if the metre required it.

11 *οὐ τι μὴ . . . αἰείσης*: an early use of this construction, but not necessarily to be rejected; it is used by Simonides fr. 12. 19 (Hiller); *αἰείσης* may be future or subjunctive, cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. pp. 89, 93, note 2.

12 *ἄμμαρ*: i.e. *ἦμαρ*; for the *μμ* cf. one of the new fragments of Sappho, *Berl. Klassikertexte* V 2, P. 9722. 2. 2., l. 17 *πεπονημμένας*, where it would seem to have as little right as here; cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. § 34.

13 *κάρων*: elsewhere the form is *κάρος*, neuter; for Lesbian peculiarities of declension cf. *αῖδως* for *αἰδῆς* Sa. 1. 6, *κίνδυν* or *κίνδυνα* for *κίνδυνον* fr. 161, *ἔρος* for *ἔρως* passim, Alc. *ἄγωνος* for *ἀγών* fr. 121, and the use of *-ην* as acc. sing. of adjectives in *-ης*, as in *χειμωνοείδην* below.

14 ἐπήμενοι: i.e. ἐφειμένοι, lit. 'having let go,' 'allowed to pass'; for η cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 93 note 2.

16 κἀπριγάδαν: i.e. καὶ ἄπριγδα (Aesch. *Pers.* 1057); for the form cf. κρυφάδαν, λαθράδαν for κρύβδα, λάθρα in Boeotian, Corinna *Hel.* 14, *Asop.* 59, *Berl. Klassiker-texte*; or κἀπριχάδαν? This word seems unnecessarily strong. An alternative would be τάν τε χάδαν 'and the tiller,' χαδή bearing the same relation to χανδάνω as λαβή to λαμβάνω; but the article is perhaps unlikely. For the singular χάδαν with the plural καμάκων cf. Luc. *Nav.* 5 ὑπὸ λεπτῇ κάμακι τὰ τηλικαῦτα πηδάλια περιστρέφω.

17 λύσᾶμεν: I take this to be subjunctive, cf. ἔρᾶται Sa. fr. 13, Pind. *P.* 4. 92, and δύναμαι Sa. (*Berl. Klass. texte*, P. 5006). ἔσταμεν Alc. 15. 7 looks like a subjunctive. For αἰ with subjunctive without κέν see on l. 18, and Goodwin *M. and T.* §§ 453-4.

προτ': if this is a genuine Aeolic form it supports the suggested προτὶ in Theocr. 30. 24 where the MSS have the unmetrical ποτί.

προτ' ἐνώπια: cf. ἐνώπιον Theocr. 22. 152; lit. 'to face' the wind, i.e. so as to catch it.

18 κέρα: the ends of the sailyard, to which the ropes for regulating the position of the sail would be fastened.

τρόποντες: Present, cf. στρόφω Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 52; so also ἐπιτρόπησις Theocr. 29. 35, which however is generally taken as Aorist.

καί κ': marks the apodosis in a similar conditional sentence in another fragment of Alcaeus, Hiller *Anth. Lyr.* 42a,

αἰ δὴ μὰν χέραδος μὴ βεβᾶω Φεργάσιμον
λίθον

κίνης, καὶ κέν ἴσως τὰν κεφάλαν ἀργαλίαν
ἔχοις.

It marks a secondary apodosis Pind. *P.* 3. 68.

19 φεύγειν: 2nd Aorist Optative, cf. φύη Theocr. 15. 94; Aeolic would keep the ι, especially as the Present would be φεύω for φύω, cf. Kühner, *G.G.* 1. 2. p. 567. For αἰ

κε with subjunctive followed by Optative cf. fr. 83.

20 ἀντί: 'as good as,' cf. *Il.* 9. 116 ἀντὶ πολλῶν λαῶν ἐστί and other instances in L. and S.

ἔργον: this form of ἔργον is rendered probable by ὄρπετον for ἔρπετον Sa. fr. 40; cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 52.

21 φαῖς: i.e. φής.

ὄργον: i.e. ἄφοργον.

ἄρταις: Present Participle of ἄρταιμι.

22 χέρρι: ἔμωι: cf. κῶττι ἔμωι Sa. 1. 17.

23 μύρραν: used by Sappho for σμύρναν according to Athen. 688 c.

τις: cf. fr. 36.

25 ταρασσης: for ταρασσεις, see on 11.

26 ὃ γέ: relative.

One or two of the above suggestions involve 'new' words or forms. These I feel to be peculiarly hazardous. But in attempting to transform a specimen of palaeography into a piece of literature one should not be altogether debarred from such guesses. It would be absurd to suppose that in the two or three hundred lines which we possess of Lesbian literature the vocabularies of Sappho and Alcaeus are exhausted. The first ten lines of the first of the new Paeans of Pindar contain two words not found elsewhere, a third found only in Aristides, and a fourth only in Hesychius. There are upwards of 4000 lines of Pindar extant.

[Since the above was set up in type my attention has been directed to the suggestions made by Mr. Powell on p. 177 of the *C.R.* Though my restoration is based upon a different conception of the scene described, it may be well to give the result of my tracing-test as applied to his suggestions. I use the signs +, -, or = to indicate that his first letter falls beyond, within, or upon my *terminus ad quem*. 13 τί δ' οὐ (with W.) = 14 χιθνοείδην - 15 ἐρετμὰ θέντες impossible, the letter before α must be γ or τ 16 παρβολάδαν = 17 ἔπειτα = 18 πλοίου τρέποντες + 19 πίνοιμεν = 20 τοῦτο κ' +.]

J. M. EDMONDS.

A NEW READING OF THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

THE *Hippolytus* is generally ranked as one of the finest, if not the finest, of Euripides' plays; standing on its own merits as an early but excellent example of Romantic drama, it has recently obtained a considerable success on the stage at Manchester, where those who saw it played, many of whom were ignorant of Greek and quite free from that prejudice in favour of classical form which may be thought to warp the scholar's judgment, were deeply impressed by its dramatic power.

The motives of the play are so complex that after reading it or seeing it acted we are left in total bewilderment as to where the blame of the tragedy really lies, or rather, how it should be apportioned. Yet no critic hitherto has discovered that there is a riddle underlying it, or seen any trace of a teaching, intelligible only to the initiated, different from that lesson which seems to be enforced—that those who disobey the world's moral laws must be the cause of misery and ruin to themselves and others. But, as the lightning strikes the mountain-summits, it is probable that, sooner or later, modern critics will fall upon this masterpiece, and we may perhaps forestall them by pointing out some of the inconsistencies of the play.

First, however, we must say what we can on behalf of the author who is on trial. According to tradition, the *Hippolytus* in its extant form is the second play by our poet on the same subject, or rather, perhaps a revision of the original form. From the fragments of the older play,¹ we are led to believe that Phaedra herself accused Hippolytus to Theseus, and it is generally supposed that she was there represented as declaring her passion to Hippolytus in person.²

With the story in this form, there could be little to raise Phaedra above the level of Stheneboea, with whom she is ranked by Aristophanes.³ As the slighted Antea cried in anger to Proetus, demanding the death of Bellerophon, so in all probability Phaedra acted according to epic tradition. The in-

troduction of the nurse and the story of the δέλτος may well be refinements devised by Euripides himself; and after reading the first half of the play no one can fail to realize how vastly Euripides has improved on the familiar story of the gross type.

The character of Phaedra, as conceived by Euripides, explains her reasons for suicide. She loves passionately, but when her love, declared against her will, is slighted, the shame of outraged pride is the dominant motive. She is shamed and enraged not so much by the coldness of Hippolytus as by the false and undignified position in which the nurse's officiousness has placed her. The evil inclinations against which she has been struggling are, when revealed, as sinful to her mind as the deed of evil would have been. Remorse prompts her to kill herself, for she will not bring shame on her royal lineage, nor face Theseus with the consciousness of guilt, for the sake of saving one life.⁴

To what life is she referring? If it were not for the sequel, we should say that she means her own, for suicide is the thought uppermost in her mind. We have had, so far, little indication of her love having suddenly changed into hate so violent that she is eager to sacrifice the beloved. She may wish to wring his bosom, to move him at last to pity, if not to a tenderer feeling, by the contemplation of her own violent end; but we can hardly yet believe that she wishes to bring him to a cruel death. Indeed her first utterance after listening to his reproaches is ἐτύχομεν δίκας⁵—‘we have met with justice.’ So her subsequent treachery shocks us the more as it is unexpected.

Again, let us consider the stage-situation. Theseus is abroad; Hippolytus has announced his intention of leaving the palace until his father returns; and Phaedra believes that he will then break his oath and tell Theseus all. If Hippolytus is likely to break his oath, the Chorus may well break theirs, and such a weight of evidence will overpower any accusation on her part, especially as Hippolytus

¹ *Poetae Scenici* (Dindorf), 442, 443.

² See *Introd.* to Mahaffy and Bury's Edn.

³ *Frogs*, 1043.

⁴ *Hippolytus*, 719–722.

⁵ *Hipp.* 672.

will have told his story first. Moreover, there is little chance of any such message as she actually leaves behind her reaching Theseus. He, as already noted, is abroad; Hippolytus is near at hand, and the news of the Queen's death, cried through all Attica, must bring him soon on the spot, when, seeking for an explanation of her death, he would discover this damaging piece of false evidence and destroy it.

We may now consider the possibility of another theory. Phaedra declares her intention of causing trouble (evil) to another 'that he may learn not to regard my evils proudly';¹ in other words, she will die, and let him know that he caused her death.

There is no anticipation that Theseus' return is imminent; unexpectedly he arrives before his son, and reads the tablet intended for Hippolytus, inscribed, let us suppose, with some such words as 'Thy love has destroyed me'—he draws the natural inference, and a tragedy still more grim than that of the Queen's death is the result of this misunderstanding. Had the δέλτος with the message so worded fallen into the hands of Hippolytus, his chivalrous pity for the dead would have sealed his lips, and the Chorus could be trusted to remain silent so long as no danger threatened the beloved young hero; that the oaths would be so binding even in the new circumstances of horror could never have been foreseen by Phaedra—indeed she had emphatically repudiated the idea that Hippolytus would keep his oath even when in no danger whatsoever.² Still less could she have believed that he would remain silent, as he actually did, when the terror of death confronted him.

The death of Hippolytus is thus due to a series of accidents, which Phaedra could never have foreseen or reckoned on.

On these lines a consistent explanation of the play could be constructed, which a critic of exceptional merit might even make plausible.

¹ *Hipp.* 728–731. Surely the νόσος in which Hippolytus is to share, and so 'learn to be temperate,' is here *love*, not *death*; cf. *infra* 765, Ἀφροδίτας νόσῳ.

² *Hipp.* 689–690.

ible. On the above suppositions we have introduced an example of one of the important axioms of modern criticism—that the gods of Euripides shall be futile. As in other plays, the prologue will have no real bearing on the plot. Dr. Verrall has pointed to other plays (e.g. the *Alcestis*) where the god prologizing predicts events which never really happen.³ Here Euripides is even more subtle, for everything turns out exactly as Cypris wishes, but the events are due actually not to her intervention but to an extraordinary set of malign chances. If Theseus had not returned before he was due; if he had not misinterpreted the message; if Hippolytus and the Chorus had not been pious beyond all rational expectation, Cypris would have been completely stultified; as it is, Ἀνάγκη, that blind force which is older and stronger than any personal divinity, is alone responsible for the catastrophe. It may be further observed that Artemis at the close of the play gives a circumstantial account of the events, tallying exactly with the ordinary reading of the plot; but if we accept the modern canon that a *deus ex machina* is either ineffectual or mendacious,⁴ we have scored an additional point.

Most old-fashioned lovers of Euripides, however, will be content with the *prima facie* plot; they will find that it is equally tragic, and, while making less of a tax on their credulity, presents a more subtle psychological problem. As to Phaedra's irrational action, 'odi et amo' is a commonplace in such stories, and the knowledge of an infuriated woman's capabilities may well, they will say, be left to the so-called misogynist poet.

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³ Cf. *Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 160. '... the story is contained solely in the action proper, without the prologue and finale, which are not the story but comments on the story by "gods," that is to say "liars."'

⁴ *Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 67. 'Experienced readers at Athens must have known that in Euripides what had been spoken *from the machine* was not to be taken seriously. . . .'

LAST WORDS ON PORTUS ITIUS.

I HAVE something to say about Portus Itius which has never been said before; and I ask all who have read my two former articles to read to the end before they decide, considering the arguments without prejudice and reserving judgement on the writer's shortcomings.

A few days before the publication of *Ancient Britain*, when all the sheets had been printed, I saw that there were flaws in the article on Portus Itius which formed a part of that volume. While I was revising it I felt the need of trustworthy and detailed information regarding the experiments that were made in order to ascertain the time in which the main division of Napoleon's flotilla could clear the port of Boulogne; but I failed until too late to put my hands upon the authoritative work—Captain E. Desbrière's *Projets et tentatives de débarquement aux îles britanniques*—in which it is contained. Serious reviewers, British, American, and Continental, who had already devoted much time to the study of Caesar's British expeditions, have pronounced that the conclusion reached in the article which deals with the question of his landing-place is definitively established;¹ but two scholars who were convinced, and one of whom was converted, by the argument have told me that the article on Portus Itius did not seem to them to achieve demonstration; and Mr. Stuart Jones in the *English Historical Review* has recently written in the same sense.

It will not, however, be denied by any critic who has even an elementary knowledge of seamanship or is willing to accept the unanimous testimony of nautical experts that the article made one contribution to knowledge: it proved that the port from which Caesar sailed in his first expedition was Boulogne.² It is now generally admitted

that Portus Itius was either Boulogne or Wissant. If, then, Caesar sailed from the same port on both his expeditions, Portus Itius was Boulogne. The difficulty is that he did not say that on his first expedition he started from Portus Itius; and while I was at work upon the article I felt 'obstinate questionings' in regard to his having only mentioned the harbour in connexion with the second expedition. The drift of my argument was that Boulogne was in all respects more convenient as a starting-point than Wissant, and that Caesar, having had experience of the superior advantages of Boulogne in 55 B.C., would not have abandoned it in the following year. But, for want of the information which I found too late, I failed to see that Boulogne, with all its superior advantages, had, for the second expedition, one drawback which may have been damning.

I will now point out the flaws in my article that may have escaped the notice of reviewers, and ask scholars to consider that one aspect of the question—the most important of all—which has hitherto been neglected.

On page 569³ I asked 'if eight hundred ships had been beached at Wissant [during the twenty-five days for which Caesar was windbound at Portus Itius in 54 B.C.], would it not have been necessary, in order to protect them from storm-driven spring tides, to construct an enormous naval camp, the earth necessary for which did not exist?' I asked the question because, as I have shown on pages 566–7, there was no harbour, properly so called, at Wissant except a creek formed by the mouth of the rivulet called the Rieu d'Herlan, and possibly a small anchorage partially sheltered by a shoal. The answer is that to construct a naval camp would not have been necessary if the ships could be hauled up beyond the highest high-water mark of spring tides. Supposing that the dune which extends from the Stuart Jones (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxiv. 1909, p. 115), with many other competent critics, accepts this conclusion.

¹ Among many others Mr. A. G. Peskett (*Class. Rev.* xxii. 1908, p. 94), Prof. Dennison (*Class. Philology*, iii. 1908, p. 457), M. Camille Jullian (*Rev. des études anc.* x. 1908, p. 290), and Mr. H. Stuart Jones (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxiv. 1909, pp. 115–6).

² *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, pp. 581–3. I am glad to find that Mr.

³ See also p. 574.

'ruisseau de Guiptun,' near Tardinghem, to the 'ruisseau d'Herlan,' at Wissant, and which did not exist in the time of Caesar,¹ were bodily removed, it would not, I think, be possible now to haul up ships beyond this mark; but if we may suppose that the subsidence which has taken place since Roman times between Sangatte and Dunkirk extended to Wissant, there must in 54 B.C. have been a fringe of beach immediately below the high ground wide enough to allow eight hundred ships to remain high and dry at all states of the tide.²

On page 571, note 2, I hardly allowed sufficient weight to the fact that the author of *Bellum Africanum* (10, § 1) applies the name of *portus* to a mere anchorage,—that of Monastir (the ancient Ruspina), which is protected from northerly and westerly winds, but otherwise exposed.³

On page 584 I argued, as Desjardins had done before, that the sixty ships which Labienus built during Caesar's absence in Britain could not have been built at Wissant, where there were certainly no dockyards and whither it would have been very difficult to convey the necessary timber; whereas the material could have been carried both by road and river to Boulogne. But I overlooked a passage in Caesar (v. 8, § 1) to which I had on an earlier page called attention. He tells us that he directed Labienus 'to protect the ports' (*ut portus tueretur*), which implies that he thought it

necessary to keep more than one port under control. Assuming then that Portus Itius was Wissant, the ships were doubtless built at Boulogne.

On page 585 I showed that, according to 'seafaring men, both English and French, who have practical experience of the winds and the currents in the Channel,' 'the passage for sailing-vessels from Boulogne to the south-eastern part of Britain is, and always has been, in circumstances such as Caesar described, not only very convenient but by far the most convenient.' But Caesar had to think of the start and of the arrival as well as of the passage; and this consideration brings me to the question on which the whole controversy really turns,—could Caesar's fleet have started from Boulogne without becoming unduly scattered?

It must of course be remembered that the port of Boulogne in the time of Napoleon was less spacious and less deep than it was 2000 years ago because it had been largely silted up.⁴ Still, although the map in which Desjardins⁵ attempts to depict the state of the Liane in Caesar's time and represents it as navigable for sea-going ships as far as Isques—7 kilometres from the mouth—seems approximately correct, it is of course in part conjectural. Moreover, although we know that Boulogne was from the time of Augustus the regular starting-point for ships sailing from North-eastern Gaul to Britain and the naval station of the Roman Channel Fleet, we have no information as to the largest number of ships which ever started from it at one time. There is not even direct evidence that Aulus Plautius sailed from Boulogne:⁶ if he did, some of his ships may have sailed from Ambleteuse; and we do not know how many he had. All we know

¹ *Ancient Britain*, etc., p. 566.

² The eminent geologist, M. Charles Barrois, of the University of Lille, has very kindly written to me on this question. 'Je ne crois pas,' he says, 'que nous ayons encore des documents assez précis pour arriver à une connaissance décisive et absolue de la question topographique qui vous intéresse. Il faudrait pour cela faire une série de levées topographiques et de nivellements précis qui n'ont pu être faits encore.'

'Je ne puis donc vous donner que mon impression que les conclusions de M. Gosselet [that the coast between Sangatte and Dunkirk extended considerably further seaward in Roman times than now (*Ancient Britain*, p. 566)] me paraissent appuyées sur des bases solides, qui n'ont pas été réfutées, et doivent entraîner l'assentiment, la côte s'étendant plus loin à l'époque romaine. . . . Je n'ai rien à ajouter à vos connaissances bibliographiques, qui me paraissent fort complètes.'

³ Cf. Stoffel, *Hist. de Jules César,—Guerre civile*, ii. 110-1, and pl. 20.

⁴ *Ancient Britain*, etc., pp. 586-7. Cf. *Boulogne-sur-mer et la région boulonnaise*, i. 1899, p. 31.

⁵ *Géogr. de la Gaule rom.* i. 1876, pl. xv.

⁶ Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White (*Class. Rev.* xxii. 1908, p. 205, n. 9) thinks that it 'can probably be inferred [that Plautius started from Boulogne] from Suetonius, v. 17,'—*Quare a Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto inde [Claudius] transmisit*, etc. But Claudius was not accompanied by an army; and it is questionable whether he would have started from Boulogne if he had had to get 800 ships out of the harbour.

is that Caesar sailed from Boulogne in 55 B.C. with about 80 transports and a few galleys; and it is probable that even this comparatively small fleet was inconveniently strung out.¹ Philip Augustus is said to have assembled 1500 ships at Boulogne in 1213 for his contemplated invasion of England;² but the attempt was abandoned.

Captain Desbrière's researches have shown that one of the insuperable difficulties with which Napoleon had to contend was this:—it was impossible, in the most favourable circumstances, to float more than 100 vessels out of Boulogne harbour in one tide;³ and therefore it would have been necessary for each successive relay of ships to anchor in the roadstead until the whole flotilla had cleared the harbour. But experience proved that it was dangerous to keep more ships in the roadstead than would be able, in case an unfavourable wind sprang up, to return for shelter into the estuary; and that westerly and south-westerly winds, which were favourable for the voyage, generally made the roadstead unsafe.⁴ Owing to the rapidity of the current vessels could not safely begin to move out of the port until half-an-hour before high tide; and even those which were rowed could not continue the operation later than two hours after the tide began to fall, and then only if the wind was not against them.⁵

My point then is this. Although we know that the estuary of the Liane was larger and deeper in Caesar's time than in Napoleon's,

we cannot be sure that Caesar would have been able to get eight times as many ships out of it in one tide as Napoleon;⁶ and we know that even if he could have done so, they would have been obliged to anchor in the roadstead as they emerged until the whole flotilla had cleared the harbour. For, in the most favourable circumstances, and assuming that the harbour was as extensive and as deep as Desjardins maintained, this operation would have required not much less than ten hours:⁷ if the ships had sailed on as they emerged from the estuary, the leading division would have been off the British coast at daybreak⁸ before the rearmost had begun their voyage; and it is clear from Caesar's words that the start was virtually simultaneous.⁹ But there is another point to mark. I have said that the ships, as they came out of the harbour, would have been obliged to anchor in the roadstead. But it is extremely doubtful whether they would have anchored in the open roadstead. Probably they would have been attached by hawsers to the shore, and anchored as well. For Caesar describes his start by the words *naves solvit*.¹⁰ Now, as Professor J. S. Reid has written to me, 'the natural meaning of the expression [*navem solvere*] is . . . to free the ship from all her fastenings'; and it commonly connotes the operation of un-mooring,—letting go a hawser and putting off from shore or quay. Perhaps, if the ships were merely riding at anchor, the expression might, as Professor Reid admits, 'be loosely

¹ Cf. *B.G.* iv. 23, § 2 with § 4.

² M. Luchaire (E. Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, t. iii. Ire partie, 1901, p. 162) appears sceptical as to the number.

³ *Projets et tentatives*, etc. iii. 1902, pp. 451, 566.

⁴ *Ib.* iv. 91, 94–5; iii. 141. Between the 1st of May and the 1st of November, 1804, more than 150 vessels were on three several occasions anchored in the roadstead for six or seven successive days; but on each occasion, when they were returning into the harbour, some of them were dispersed or injured (*ib.* iv. 145). Except in the very narrow space formed by the channel of the Liane, which at low water nowhere exceeded 40 metres in breadth and was in many places not more than 20, the ships were generally aground (*ib.* iii. pp. 147–8). The vessels of least draught could only cross the bar even at spring tides during 4 hours.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 144.

⁶ Some years ago I put the following question to Capt. J. Iron, the harbour-master of Dover:—'It is certain that Boulogne harbour, that is, the estuary of the river Liane, was much larger in 54 B.C. than it is now. Assume that the harbour was about 2½ miles long, and that its breadth varied from 250 to 700 yards. [See A. E. E. Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule rom.* vol. i. pl. xv.] Would it have been possible for 800 small vessels, which had oars as well as sails, and which drew not more than 3 feet of water, to get out of it in one tide?' Capt. Iron's answer was, 'Yes, because they would have had from one hour after to one hour before low water.' But it is hardly safe to accept Desjardins's delineation of the harbour as absolutely accurate.

⁷ See the preceding note.

⁸ *B.G.* v. 8, § 2.

⁹ *Ib.* §§ 2, 5–6.

¹⁰ *Ib.* § 2.

extended to lifting the anchor'; but it is very unlikely that Caesar uses it in this sense, for he repeatedly describes the operation of weighing anchor by the words *sublatiis ancoris*.¹ It may therefore be safely concluded that if Portus Itius was Boulogne, the ships, as they passed out of the harbour, were moored alongshore outside until the signal was given for the whole fleet to set sail. Now, however closely they may have been moored, we can hardly allow a less breadth of front for each than 7 yards.² The ships then would have extended in a row more than 5600 yards long,—about 5 kilometres, or more than 3 miles; in other words, they would have reached from the mouth of the Liane two-thirds of the way to Ambleteuse! Does this agree with the datum that they sailed from Portus Itius?

The danger of anchoring or of mooring alongshore would of course have been increased if the operation of clearing the harbour had required more than one tide. North-westerly winds had been blowing for twenty-five days before Caesar sailed from Portus Itius; and when the wind backed to the south-west it would have been most important to seize the opportunity of sailing while it lasted. By making Wissant the starting-point this advantage would have been secured; and, although it would not have been possible to make as good a run to Britain before a south-west wind from Wissant as from Boulogne,

¹ *B.G.* iv. 23, § 6; *B.C.* i. 31, § 3; ii. 22, § 3; 25, § 7.

² The ships were small, but comparatively broad; 540 of them carried 5 legions with their auxiliaries, camp equipage and stores, 2000 troopers, 2000 cavalry horses, remounts, and baggage cattle (*B.G.* v. 1, § 2; 2, § 2; 5, § 2; 8, §§ 1-2). Their breadth of beam cannot have been less than 15 feet and was probably rather more. The breadth of one of the great merchant-ships of the Mediterranean, the dimensions of which have been recorded by Lucian, was, as Mr. Torr points out (*Ancient Ships*, 1894, p. 24), 'slightly more than a fourth of the length'; and Caesar says that the breadth of the ships which he designed was proportionally greater than that of the Mediterranean craft. The breadth of Napoleon's 'bateaux canonnières,' which were 60 feet long and drew only 4½ feet of water, was 14 feet (E. Desbrière, *Projets et tentatives*, etc. iii. 1902, p. 90). If Caesar's ships had all been moored in actual contact with one another (!), the line would have been over 4000 yards long.

although the labour of hauling up and hauling down the ships at Wissant would have been great, these disadvantages may not have been considered too high a price to pay for the advantages of security, certainty, and a simultaneous start.

Professor Camille Jullian, of the Institut and the Collège de France, who has seen the rough draft of this paper, writes to me, 'Je ne vois pas en faveur de Wissant que *le nombre* donné par César, et je me demande si le pays est assez peuplé, assez fertile, assez près des bonnes routes pour nourrir une armée de 10 [read 8] légions.' I would remind my friend that even if the number of ships given by Caesar—'more than 800'—is not correct (and there is surely no reason to question it), they must have been several times as numerous as the hundred or so which had sufficed in the previous year; for they were evidently much smaller, they had to carry five legions and 2000 cavalry instead of two legions, and they included 'private vessels.' The other considerations which my friend adduces were emphasized in my article. But the comparative infertility of the country, its sparse population, and its want of good roads would not have been fatal if it was possible, as it surely was, to provision the army for a few weeks by sea or by pack-horses, which could have moved on tracks that would have been impracticable for wagons.

One may imagine that if Caesar could have foreseen the complaints that have been so often made as to the insufficiency of the data which the *Commentaries* contain for determining this question, he would have said 'Your criticisms are hasty. Exercise your intelligence and inform yourselves, and you will find that I have told you enough. When I said that I chose the shortest passage and that the distance from Portus Itius to Britain was about 30 miles I made it clear that Portus Itius was either Boulogne or Wissant; and on that point you are now agreed. My account of the adventures of my cavalry transports was sufficient to show those of you who understood seamanship that they sailed not from Sangatte or from Wissant but from Ambleteuse, and consequently that on my first expedition I sailed from Boulogne. I did so because Boulogne was the port from which

most Gallic trading vessels regularly sailed, and was, in the circumstances, the most convenient starting-point: my ships were too large to be hauled up on a beach out of the reach of spring tides, and, being comparatively few, they could clear the harbour in a single tide. Nevertheless, they were unavoidably strung out, and I had to wait several hours off the Kentish cliffs before the stragglers arrived. The fact that I made no mention of Portus Itius except in connexion with my second expedition naturally suggested to some of you that I did not sail from it on my first. That clue you ought to have followed. If you assumed that because Boulogne possessed many advantages over Wissant, it possessed that advantage which, on my second expedition, was indispensable; if you failed to reflect that I could not have got my eight hundred ships out of Boulogne harbour without their being dispersed, you cannot blame me. As I told you, I designed my new vessels expressly in order to enable them to be hauled up on dry land: I sailed from Wissant on my second expedition because from Wissant alone was it possible for them to start simultaneously; and if Wissant was not used by my successors, it was because their circumstances were wholly different from mine.'

I have allowed myself to make this flight of fancy because I wished to give prominence to the claim of Wissant. But it is enough to have shown that the case for Boulogne cannot be regarded as proved, because, if there is only one really strong argument for Wissant, that argument is so strong that it cannot be set aside. I have stated the reasons which led me to revise my opinion; and the reader now has at his disposal all the data necessary to enable him to form his own.

May I suggest that an attempt should be made to determine the question by excavation?¹ I am not sure whether the ground on which Caesar would have encamped if he had sailed from Wissant is undisturbed; but I venture to express the hope that, if excavation is practicable, MM. Salomon Reinach and Camille Jullian will make the necessary arrangements and invite subscriptions. I would gladly contribute what I can afford.

T. RICE HOLMES.

[Note.—On pages 586–7 of *Ancient Britain* I said that 'it may be regarded as certain that the draught of Caesar's transports [in 54 B.C.] was much less than five feet.' This statement is misleading though the error does not affect my argument: probably, however, the draught of the beamy shallow vessels which Caesar designed for his second invasion was not more than five feet. Evidently they were much smaller than the Gallic transports which he had used in the previous year; for about 80+18 (say 100) of the latter had sufficed to carry two legions with their complement of cavalry, whereas 600 of the former were built to carry five legions and 2000 cavalry. Even the Gallic transports drew so little water that it was possible for the troops whom they carried to jump off them into the sea. Allowing for the projection of the bows, from which the men doubtless jumped, and assuming that the ships sank 18 inches or 2 feet in the bed of the sea (*Ancient Britain*, p. 673), we may suppose that their draught was from 8 to 9 feet. Again, the largest of the transports which Napoleon built for the invasion of England were designed to carry each 38 seamen, 120 soldiers, and 12 24-pounder guns, and their draught was only 8 feet; while the vessels called *bateaux canonnières*, which were designed to carry each 6 seamen, 100 soldiers, 2 horses, and 2 guns, only drew 4½ feet of water (E. Desbrière, *Projets et tentatives de débarquement*, etc. iii. 1902, pp. 90, 92).

¹ Probably Labienus's camp was distinct from Caesar's; for if eight legions had occupied one camp, the three which Caesar left with Labienus when he sailed for Britain might have had difficulty in defending it.

NOTES

ARNOBIUS VII. 18 (252. 14).

minus gratior et iucundior sanguis est.

For *minus* read *sinus*. *Sinus* (or *sinum*) is by Varro joined with *capis*, *capida* ('sinorum et capidarum species') and *capis* (Livy x. 7) is sacrificial: 'cum capide et litus victimam caedat.' Karl Meiser (*Studien zu Arnobius*, p. 36) prefers *magis*, saying,

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'*minus* ist verderbt für *magis*, das öfter beim Komparativ steht, 2. B. 19. 24, *magis rectius*, 165. 30, *magis*, . . . *ignominiosius* s. den Index von Reifferscheid.' This *magis*, if read, would still be 'a dish, platter or vat,' *μαγίς*, and not the adverb.

vii. 50 (284. 10),

cur non minaei forti se obtulit?

Here *forti*, or *forte*, may be for *fortem* simply, a much readier emendation than Meiser's *torrenti*, which *ist vielleicht zu lesen*.

v. 7 (180, 4),

mater suffodit etas deum, unde amygdalus nascitur amaritudinem significans funeris.

Read m.s. *deitas* deum, *-dit etas* giving that reading fairly, and *deitas* being a word of Arnobius, S. Augustine, Prudentius and S. Jerome. Indeed, Prudentius says expressly (in *Apoth.* v. 144): 'et hoc verbo uti jam nostros non piget, ut e Graeco expressius transferant quod illi θεότητα appellant.' The Germans have gone far afield in explanation and reading, K. Meiser (*Studien zu A.*) saying: 'für etas vermute ich Attin,'—Helm thinking Attis = 'etos' (consuetudo)—and Reifferscheid reading at *et Iam*, to Otto Gruppe's amusement. For *amygdalus* . . . *amaritudinem significans funeris* compare *Ecclesiastes* xii. 5, which Arnobius explains here. For the interchange of 'e' and 'i' in above reading, a good instance in point is given in the *Neue Bruchstücke aus Weingartener Itala-Handschriften von Paul Lehmann* (München, 1908): καὶ τί ὑμεῖς ἐμοί, Τύρος καὶ Σειδών; *et adhuc* vos mihi, T. et S.? where the Latin betrays a reading καὶ ἔτι (κάτι) [p. 33 on Joel iv. 4].

H. JOHNSON.

μέτασσαι.

THIS word, which occurs only once, ι 221 χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δὲ μέτασσαι—in *Hymnus Merc.* 125 μέτασσα of M has been emended to μέταξε—is, so far as the sense goes, fairly clear. Suidas explains it as τὰ ὑπανα πρόβατα, Eustathius, 1625, 29, as αἱ μεσήλικες, which is in all probability the true interpretation: sunt igitur agnelli qui medii inter προγόνους et ἔρσας nati sunt, Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* p. 1079. The etymology of the word, on the other hand, is more uncertain. Curtius, L. Meyer, Vaníček and Grassmann favour the analysis into μετα-κι-αι, while Ebel, *K.Z.* i. 302, iv. 207, prefers μετα-τι-αι. Grassmann, *K.Z.* xi. 29 f, derives περισσός, ἐπισσαι, μέτασσαι, Ἀμφισσα, Ἀντισσα from περικιο-, etc. comparing Skt. *prāti: pratiā*. It is pointed out by Schmidt, *Pluralbildung*, p. 397 n., that though this explanation might suit μέτασσαι, it will not

do for ἐπισσαι, Ἀμφισσα, where, instead of -ισσ-, -ιασσ- would be required on Grassmann's assumption. Prellwitz, *Etym. Wb.* p. 310, compares νεσσός < *νεφο-τεκός: τίκτω, *das junge, neugeborne Tier*. I would make still another suggestion. May not μέτασσαι be simply μετα-σπῆται > μέτ-ασσαι, cf. Doric ἔασσα, Cretan ἰαθθα, < εσπῆα? The original sense of μέτα, Goth. *miþ*, was 'between,' 'among,' Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*³, p. 444, and so we get for μέτασσαι the meaning 'those that come, are between,' i.e. between the πρόγονοι and the ἔρσαι, which satisfies Eustathius' definition μεσήλικες.

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EMENDATION in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vi. 116 (Commentary on Thucydides ii.). Grenfell and Hunt give: ἐν πλάτει καὶ οὐ κ[.]ν. May not the missing words be κατὰ ἀπαρτισμόν? Cp. Dionys. Halic. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 21, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῶν ἐν πλάτει θεωρουμένων ὡς ἀγέλη τε καὶ σωρὸς καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. id. *ib.* c. 24, ὡς περ ἔφην καὶ πρότερον, οὐ κατὰ ἀπαρτισμόν ἀλλ' ἐν πλάτει, καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἔχει διαφορὰς πολλὰς. Stephanus, s.v. ἀπαρτισμός, has a reference to Gl. Stob. Ecl. vol. i., p. 258: τὸ δὲ νῦν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἐν πλάτει καὶ οὐχὶ κατ' ἀπαρτισμόν νοεῖσθαι.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

NOTE to *Classical Review*, 1909, p. 8.—After the article was printed I heard from Professor Dessau that he finds in Eragrius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 32, a reference to Καλλνίκος τῶν Κιλικίων ἡγούμενος, who was crucified by Justinian on account of an act of severe justice in his office. The date is not mentioned. There is great probability that this official was the Callinicus mentioned in the inscription of Perta. Cilicia (as distinguished from Cilicia Secunda) was a consular Province. Callinicus must have governed Lycaonia earlier, both because Cilicia was a more honourable and important Province, and because Callinicus held no office later than Cilicia. The inscription mentions δύο δεσπότας, presumably either Justin I. and Justinian, A.D. 527, or Justinian and Theodora (who were colleagues), 527–548. Thus the date is fixed within comparatively narrow limits.

In part of the article mentioned I did not see a proof. On p. 8, col. B, the reference to the first section of the Prooemium to Theophilus is falsely printed, and in the footnote φιλοτιμηθείσας is wrongly printed instead of φιλοτιμηθείσαι.

W. M. RAMSAY.

REVIEWS

THE GREEK VERSIONS OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Edited from nine MSS., together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments, by R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 6¼" × 9¼". Pp. lx + 324. 18s. net.

AMONG the half dozen scholars who have made a special study of Jewish apocryphal writings, Dr. Charles holds an honourable place. He has given long years to diligent and determined examination, appraisal and affiliation of MSS. containing works rarely read to-day by students even, important though they are for the proper understanding of early Christian thought. The volume now before us will be indispensable to students of these Testaments in our generation. Dr. Sinker's editions of 1869 and 1879 preceded the scientific treatment of manuscript tradition, and Dr. Charles is entitled to the honour of establishing certain theories about the origin and history of this work, which it is improbable that we shall see discredited. Briefly, the editor shows that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and was thence translated into Greek. From the Greek derive an Armenian version, in two forms, and a Slavonic, also in two forms. The Greek MSS. too on examination prove to exhibit two types of text, and Dr. Charles holds that the Hebrew itself must have existed in two recensions.

Unfortunately, the editor seriously prejudices his cause by the extraordinary method he has adopted of presenting his argument. He throws together proofs strong and feeble, and gives the reader no hint that he is conscious of any difference in their cogency. The result is that he runs a grave danger of having the strength of his case misunderstood, and indeed of having judgment given against it because the evidence may not be completely examined. He classifies his proofs that the Greek version

is a translation from the Hebrew under four headings, and on each of these it is worth while to make a few comments.

First, 'Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the genius of the Greek language.' His examples under this head are of such a character in many instances as to betray either an inacquaintance with the work of Deissmann and Prof. J. H. Moulton, or a rejection of their views, which is impermissible even to the Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint at Oxford, unless he develops at length his reasons for doing so. Thus κλοπή ἐκλεψαν, Test. Jos. xii. 2 has been paralleled from papyri and T. Sim. iv. 4, ἡγάπησέ (misprinted on p. xxiv as ἡγάπησά) με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου = as (he did) my brothers, is like a use of μετὰ found in Attic. Other examples depend on a misunderstanding of the text. Thus he quotes (p. xxiv) T. Lev. xviii. 10¹ with the comment, 'Ἀδάμ = אדם, and should here be rendered by ἀνθρώπους.' But the reference is plainly to Gen. iii. 24. Curiously enough, he does not quote what might have furnished him with a good argument, T. Sym. vi. 4.

Next, 'Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.' Most of these invoke that subjective spirit of criticism which the discoveries of papyri in the last seventeen years have so greatly discredited. The editor would have carried conviction more quickly if he had confined himself to a few examples like that in T. Naph. vi. 2, where the one class of MSS. has ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν = בְּלֵא מַלְחִים, while the other has μεστὸν ταραχῶν = מְלֹחִים מְלֵא. This, however, would lead us no

¹ καλε αὐτὸς ἀνοίξει τὰς θύρας τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ ἀποστήσει τὴν ἀπειλούσαν ῥομφαίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδάμ.

farther than the theory that one class of MSS. had been translated from Hebrew.

Thirdly, 'paronomasiae which are lost in Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.' As for these, it must be said, they show no more than that the writer knew Hebrew; they do not prove that he wrote in that language. Moreover, how uncertain an argument this may be is evidenced by the fact that it would prove St. James' Epistle to have been written in English, because in i. 6 'he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed,' the English has a charming play which is absent in the Greek.

Lastly, 'Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation into Hebrew.' Out of a number of examples which again depend too much on subjective considerations, one or two are conclusive; e.g. T. Lev. ii. 8, where in both groups of MSS. the second heaven is πολλὸν φωτεινότερον καὶ φαιδρότερον, because ἦν καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπειρον, where ὕψος = הַגָּבֹהַ is a misreading for הַגָּבֹהַ = φέγγος or φῶς. So T. Jud. xxi. 6, οἱ μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν αἰχμαλωτίζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἀρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια may plausibly be explained as a mistranslation of what in earlier Hebrew = $\text{פָּטְנוּ וְשִׁמְרוּ}$. But T. Jud. iv. 3 may well be not a mistranslation but a misunderstanding of the Midrash by the author, and ix. 3 is no more convincing than T. Dan. i. 8 and iv. 4. In T. Jos. xi. 7, ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, the last word may be a mistranslation for 'household servants,' but it might = 'farm,' and in T. Benj. iv. 2,

σκοτεινὸν ὀφθαλμόν may be further illustrated by St. Matt. vi. 22 ff.

When Dr. Charles goes on to deduce two lost Hebrew recensions from which the Greek are derived respectively, it is doubtful if he makes good his case. It would suffice to postulate (1) a translation made from a Hebrew MS. misread, misunderstood, mistaken in places; (2) a revised translation, where the former version was checked and corrected by comparison with another Hebrew MS. But again the editor injures his case by throwing together good and bad examples. Certainly T. Naph. iii. 2 may well be a Greek corruption, οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσι becoming οὐ καλύψουσι. Weak instances like this make the reader distrust the strength of the argument, and Dr. Charles has certainly not stated adequately his case for supposing the book to have been interpolated so early that all our MSS. contain identical additions. I have no space to enlarge on this, nor to do more than point out the impropriety of assuming—as is commonly done—that ὅς ἂν διδάσκει implies the use of ἂν with the indicative. Because the past indicative and the subjunctive of *to be* are identical in spelling, it does not follow that we are unconscious of a grammatical difference between them, nor would an inference that there was confusion be legitimised, if we should begin to spell *bare* and *bear* in one way.

Of misprints I have noted: p. 132, note 51, αἶμα for αἷμα; p. 192, line 6, συγγενῇ for συγγένῃ; p. 204, line 9, ἐφόβουντο; and p. 277, xii. 4, ὁ (for δ) πρῶτον.

T. NICKLIN.

TWO STUDIES IN GREEK AUTHORSHIP.

Hellenistische Wundererzählungen. Von R. REITZENSTEIN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. 8vo. Pp. vi+172. M. 5.

Lucian und Menipp. Von RUDOLF HELM. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. 8vo. Pp. vi+392. M. 10.

THESE two books attempt to solve a problem which lies at the very foundation of criticism,

namely, how does a writer, or a group of writers, make use of material ready to hand. Mr. Helm is content to deal with the way in which Lucian fell back upon Menippus; Mr. Reitzenstein tries to show that ancient biography and history was largely the writing of anecdotes with a moral. To describe this method, he falls back upon the term 'aretalogy.' This term is to mean both the

wonderful works and the sayings of great men, and of the gods. Thus the Son of Sirach can say, even of God, 'fill Sion with thy majesty' (*ἀρεταλογία*), xxxvi. 17.

Such is the simple formula with which Mr. Reitzenstein solves the difficulties, which beset the student of ancient history and biography. Prophets, philosophers and historians display but little knowledge of what is real and true, and along with the biographers, are but little removed from novelists. When Cicero wrote to the historian Luceius, and asked him to compose the history of the orator's exploits, Cicero, forsooth, was anticipating the plot of Chariton's romance of *Chaireas and Callirhoe* (p. 99)! Such are the results of the comparison of the unlike, and of the failure to draw distinctions.

One of the pundits at the recent Congress of the History of Religions said that it was time scholars began to discriminate. To read this speculation of Mr. Reitzenstein where the argument is of so bare a thread and where it rests upon the faintest analogies, is like reading in a dictionary where the alphabet furnishes the succession of topics.

And yet Mr. Reitzenstein has not failed to keep in view the purpose for which his book was composed. For it has been composed with a purpose. He proposes to prove that the methods of early Christian writers are part of a great tradition; that for example the *Acts of the Apostles* was written much in the same way as other short histories. But in order to avoid dogmatic considerations, he has gone outside the province of canonical literature, and has subjected the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* to a comparison with Egyptian and Greek miraculous stories. In particular the two hymns contained in the *Acts of Thomas* are traced to earlier Hellenistic literature, and ultimately to Egyptian sources.

Will it be believed that Mr. Reitzenstein is unable to deal with Egyptian and Coptic sources at first hand? He invented in his previous book, the *Poemandres*, an Hermetic community for which there is no adequate warrant. In reviewing the *Poemandres* elsewhere, I purposely omitted a protest against this unscholarly treatment of a great subject. But others have been less considerate of Mr.

Reitzenstein's feelings, and I gather from a footnote (p. 14), that Mr. Walter Otto has spoken quite clearly upon this matter. I will quote Mr. Reitzenstein against himself. 'The help of friends does not compensate for the lack of knowledge of the language' (p. 103 n). Mr. Reitzenstein makes the reader doubtful, when he speaks of the vulture as *the* divine bird of Egypt without even a reference to the hawk of Horus (p. 21). And the author not being able to read Egyptian, attaches a quite ridiculous importance to isolated phrases taken from the huge and formless mass of Egyptian literature. The present reviewer has but a slight knowledge of things Egyptian. But even a slight knowledge of the Egyptian language dispels the awe with which Mr. Reitzenstein approaches Egyptian tradition. I am sorry to seem ungrateful to Mr. Reitzenstein for the many interesting suggestions which his books contain.

Mr. Helm's book is a valuable contribution to the study of Lucian, and incidentally covers some of the ground traversed by Mr. Reitzenstein. The two writers agree in this, that Lucian's debt to Menippus was considerable. Lucian's object was 'to make Menippus live again' (*Lucian und Menipp*, p. 13), and outside this object Lucian was unsuccessful. Mr. Helm treats in turn of those works of Lucian which owe something to Menippus; apart from whom he says Lucian's invention flags. Mr. Helm, however, has not entirely settled how Lucian stood to Menippus. For there is a serious omission which deserves notice. Much is said about Lucian's lack of invention and of constructive power. But little acknowledgment is made of his undoubted command of style. His fine taste received powerful impulse in the sculptor's workshop, which he early deserted but of which he never lost the remembrance. No one would gather from either of the works under review, that the conception of the antique world should include the balanced sublimity and beauty of which antique sculpture is the symbol, and that here Lucian is of the greatest importance. Lucian, says Professor Ernest Gardner, is undoubtedly the most trustworthy art-critic of antiquity; it is through Lucian's eyes that

we see the most splendid vision of material beauty.

It is a shock, therefore, to pass from Lucian to the inelegant comparison which Mr. Helm has borrowed (p. 343). He quotes a German humorist who says that 'Verses should be sprinkled in a book written in prose, with the same purpose as bacon is sprinkled in sausage.' I wonder what Lucian would have said about the taste of his critic. It may be, after all, that the continued study and imitation of Greek and Roman prose and poetry is needed to keep the Teutonic mind in touch with the beautiful and sublime in style. Recent innovations in classical

studies are based upon the assumption that the vernacular speech of the age is represented by its great writers. This is the opposite of the facts. Lucian's Attic is not more artificial than the dialect which was used for their works by Caesar and Cicero. 'The style is the man.' In the elaborate analysis which forms the staple of the two works under consideration, the human personality disappears. But it is just the touch of the artist that gives greatness and unity to his picture.

F. GRANGER.

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THE HISTORY OF MORAL IDEAS.

(1) *De Conscientiae Notione, quae et qualis fuerit Romanis.* By ROELOF MULDER. Lugduni Batavorum: apud E. J. Brill. MCMVIII. Pp. 127.

(2) *Philosophy and Popular Morals in Ancient Greece.* By A. E. DOBBS, Junr. Dublin: E. Ponsonby; London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1907. Pp. xi + 282. 5s. net.

THESE books are the result of very careful attempts to discover, not only the views of ancient writers on ethics, but also the popular morality which was recognised by the Greeks and Romans.

Dr. Mulder quotes in full the chief passages from Latin literature in which the words 'conscire', 'conscius' and 'conscientia' are found (pp. 6-49), and although 'conscientia' does not occur before the time of Cicero, he infers, not that the term was unknown previously, but that it began then to acquire its moral force.

In the next chapter he argues that 'religio,' as implying an external, prohibiting power, could not develop the idea of conscience, the evolution of which was due to the study of philosophy (particularly of the Stoic system) and its teaching that there was innate in man a divine arbiter of right and wrong.

Finally, after a few remarks about the consciousness of sin (implied in 'fides,'

'pudor,' 'delictum,' etc.) among the Romans in pre-Ciceronian times, a full account is given of 'conscientia' as internal accuser, witness and judge. The writer concludes:

'In religione non tam amor quam timor verecundiaque deorum homines, ut deos colerent, impellebant.

'Haec omnia, quominus notio conscientiae cresceret, impedire, quin etiam in rebus, quae ad religionem pertinerent, numquam vocem conscientiae apud Romanos inveniri, supra ostendimus.

'Deinde religione neglecta philosophia munus paedagogi suscepit: sed rursus normae, secundum quas vitam disponere actionesque regere volebant, a recta via declinabant. Conscientiae autem notionem ea aetate, qua philosophia cum Stoicorum tum Platoniorum recentiorum homines, ut in se recederent, monebat, crevisse atque amplificatam esse, satis apparebat' (pp. 118, 119).

The work abounds in illuminating thoughts, e.g. the distinction between 'recta conscientia' (the 'mens sibi conscia recti'), which is an internal law, a guiding power or compass, and 'bona conscientia,' which is the approval of a 'conscience void of offence.' But the writer seems to pay too little attention to the early stage, in which the Romans, under the training of their laws and customs, were gradually becoming more and more conscious of moral responsibility and a sense

of sin. Even 'religio' formed habits of thinking which, later on, developed into deeper moral ideas.

Mr. Dobbs describes first of all the morality of the early Greeks and that current in the period of enlightenment, represented by Euripides, in which the old sanctions ceased to bind thinking men and gave way to philosophic ethics. He then proceeds to trace the reflex influence of philosophy on popular life and thought. The latter subject is novel, and although the writer has scarcely proved that the influence of philosophy was great, he deserves the gratitude of scholars for his candid presentation of the evidence and for the industry with which he has collected references. His account, however, of duty and conscience (p. 165 and Appendix C) is very meagre, and he recognises even less than Dr. Mulder the importance of tracing from the earliest times the sense of sin, a feeling which certainly existed (as shown, e.g. by the word *αἰδώς*), even though imperfect and inarticulate.

English scholars have displayed wonderful industry in expounding the tenets of Plato and Aristotle, but in discussing the growth of popular morals among the Greeks and Romans they appear to have neglected the 'labour of the spade.' Brilliant generalisations, sometimes right, often wrong, are common enough; careful tabulation of the evidence, in chronological order and in relation to institutions, is conspicuously wanting. What is needed is a minute analysis of all the non-philosophic writings, so that an investigator may have at his command what each author says about man's duty to the gods, the state, his family and himself. Doubtless much of this work has been done already, but it is buried in forgotten theses or magazine articles. These

should be unearthed and supplemented, and the evidence published in one or two volumes without comment. The labour involved would be immense, but as only the most important passages need be quoted in full, the volume or volumes would not be very bulky. The writer speaks from experience, as he has already analysed three authors in this way. With such a guide historians would be less apt to forget the effects of time and place, or to couple together Homer and Plutarch (after the manner of L. Schmidt) without realising that they are separated by a thousand years.

Mr. Dobbs, while admitting the value of this method, points out the difficulty of distinguishing between literary and popular ethics. 'The views propounded in books, on the platform, or on the stage, do not always represent the principles of faith and practice generally accepted at the time' (p. 226). But, after all, literature is practically all we have upon which to base our conclusions, and it goes without saying that the historian must not interpret his authorities in a wooden, unintelligent way. Moreover, the 'views propounded in books' do not exhaust the evidence to be obtained from literature. The moral tone which is implied in a remark is often of far greater value than moral judgments definitely expressed. Take, for instance, the light thrown upon the Athenian conception of a 'perfect gentleman' by the following passage of Antiphon:

ὑπερῷόν τι ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας, ὃ εἶχε Φιλόνεως ὅπου ἐν ἄστει διατρίβοι, ἀνὴρ καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φίλος τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρί· καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παλλακή, ἣν ὁ Φιλόνεως ἐπὶ πορνείῳ ἐμελλε καταστήσαι.

Κατηγορία φαρμακείας. § 14.

Such evidence as this is far from uncommon.

W. H. S. JONES.

THE ODES OF HORACE.

The Odes of Horace: A Translation and an Exposition. By E. R. GARNSEY. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1907. 8vo. Pp. 230. 6s.

MR. GARNSEY has called his book a Translation and an Exposition. The principle

that he has adopted in translating he explains on page 3; he describes it as a rendering 'in metre, but without rhythm or a set scheme of prosody,' and says of it: 'The reader will see that adherence to the "nuance" of thought agreeable to the Latin mind has

often been preferred to the course of making a change to something more congenial to the English ear. The desire for fidelity has been the cause of this, and the risk of uncouthness has been faced in preference to any conscious disturbance of the sense.' Mr. Garnsey's method seems to be to translate, where he reasonably can, into blank verse, but to let any line that will not accommodate itself to the demands of that metre, fend for itself. How far the "nuances" agreeable to the Latin mind' have been adhered to is questionable: but that there is reason in his apology for uncouthness may be seen by considering such examples as the following:

Ode I. 27.

'Wish you that I too share the strong Falernian?
Let brother of Megilla the Opuntian
Tell to what wound he has been treated,
And from what dart he dies.'

or *Ode* III. 5.

'Has soldier of Crassus passed his life,
A dastard husband with a foreign mate?
And in the lands of foes—and fathers-in-law—
(Oh, Senate, oh, perverted morals!) with Mede
For king, have Marsian and Apulian grown old?'

The object of the exposition, to which the translation is but secondary, is to prove that L. Licinius Murena, the brother-in-law of Maecenas, was not only, as Dr. Verrall makes him in his *Studies in Horace*, an important personage in Horace's writings, but the all-pervading source of influence of the *Odes*, which become in his hands a dark political

cryptogram. The events of 22 B.C. produced this *monumentum*, the 'memorial' of this lyrical Mr. Dick. Dr. Verrall has pointed out many possible allusions to Murena; Mr. Garnsey finds him everywhere. To the Murena motive he traces all references to astrology, metempsychosis, physical deformity, heirs, fish ponds, barrages, and extravagance of various kinds. The man had many aliases: he is Sybaris, Pyrrhus, Telephus, Dellius (who has to become Gillo), Grosphus, Gyas, Pirithous, Achilles; he is one of the 'three gentlemen at once' who constitute Cerberus: not content with being the unclaimed *tu* of II. 18 (as with Dr. Verrall), he lays claim to the pronoun in I. 20. The method by which he is identified with Thaliarchus in *Ode* I. 9 will serve as an illustration: Soracte is mentioned in the same *Ode*; Soracte is in the territory of the Hirpini; Hirpus, whence comes the name, means wolf: this suggests Lycaon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book I., whose banquet is connected with a plot against Augustus. It seems strange that 'the most gentlemanlike of Roman poets' should trouble his generous patron with incessant references to his dishonoured kinsman, even though anxious to show that he did not class them in his mind together. But there is too much Murena, however ingeniously Mr. Garnsey has employed his learning. Henry I. died of a surfeit of lamprey.

A. S. OWEN.

SERVIUS GRAMMATICUS.

Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina Commentarii. THILO and HAGEN. Vol. iii, Fasc. ii. Appendix Serviana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1902. Pref. pp. vii-xiii + 1-540.

WE have here the penultimate volume of Thilo's Servius, the appendix arranged and emended by Hermann Hagen just before his death. Only the indices remained to be done, and a preface in which it was hoped he would address himself to the difficult questions concerning Probus and Philargyrius.

This work will be undertaken by Paul Rabbow, who will thus bring the work to completion. The present volume contains the so-called additions to the Vulgate found in MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, first published in 1600 by Daniel. It has been generally held that the Danielian additions were not part of the original commentary of Servius, but were transcribed into it from a similar and equally sound work. This volume contains (i) a commentary by Junius Philargyrius on the Eclogues, excerpts from which, now published in full for the first

time, are given in two forms in three MSS. These two forms differ one from another considerably, one being much fuller than the other. One can never tell where a chance piece of information thrown out in these comments will be the missing link in a hitherto broken chain of mythological, literary, or social knowledge, and Mr. Warde Fowler has recently made good use of such a note on Eclogue iv. 63 in his essay on the Messianic Eclogue. (ii) A short anonymous explanation of the Georgics; (iii) a commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics, assigned to Probus; (iv) the Scholia Veronensia; (v) Magni Glossarum libri glossae, to which the name of Virgil is prefixed; (vi) Grammatici incerti Glossae, on Aen. xii.; (vii) Scriptoris incerti Glossarium Vergilianum; and finally (viii) Grammatical Fragments of Asper. As to the commentary on the Georgics, it is no longer assigned (since M. Thomas) to Philargyrius; but its information as to grammar, history, and antiquities is drawn, like that of Servius, from scholars of the first and early second centuries. Nettleship, judging from the remains of the notes of Probus preserved in Servius and

later writers, would assign to him the first place among the commentators of Virgil, whether from the point of view of textual criticism or interpretation. But the bulk of the commentary here preserved he refuses to believe to be the work of Probus. Instead of grammar and criticism (the subjects which Suetonius and his own scattered notes would have us expect), this commentary is concerned with points of mythology, history, and theosophy. We can heartily endorse Nettleship's remark: 'Nor can its quality as a whole, though here and there it gives us a valuable remark, be pronounced at all worthy of what might have been expected from the great scholar of Berytus.' The good quality of the Verona Scholia is well known, 'their air of genuine antiquity, their clearness, fulness, and sanity of view.' Modern commentators cannot dispense with the Verona Scholia as here most carefully edited. We need not here consider the other sections of this volume, which must find a place on the shelves of Virgilian scholars if only for the Philargyrius and Verona Scholia.

S. E. WINBOLT.

TWO BOOKS OF VERSIONS.

Flosculi Graeci Boreales: Series Nova. Aberdeen University Studies, No. 28. Decerpsit JOANNES HARROWER. Aberdeen University Press. 1907.

THIS is a volume for the book-lover, finely printed on goodly paper, and full of good things. It contains a hundred versions in various kinds of Greek verse, with a few epigrams and oddities thrown in. Some of the pieces are of considerable length: one renders a whole scene from Byron's *Marino Faliero*. The greater number of the versions are in iambics, and the iambics are nearly all excellent: to add to the interest, the originals are mostly new, although a few old favourites are repeated. Next in favour come the elegiacs, and these are also the most pleasing to the reader. The iambics sometimes smell of the lamp a little, but the elegiacs are graceful and spontaneous in a high degree.

We may especially mention the versions of A. W. Muir, who is not afraid to compress an English lyric: he has his reward, as may be seen by a comparison of his version on p. 69, and another on p. 151 of Rossetti's song, 'When I am dead, my dearest.' His version is admirable indeed, and all his work is marked by a welcome clearness. He has another charming version (p. 131) of Wordsworth's *Lucy*. Several pieces are Theocritean Doric, which goes well in rendering our native Doric; all these are pretty, especially so one by the editor on p. 31, and an *ὁμοιωμένης* (p. 233) by Wm. Calder. One or two short sets of Sapphics are not quite so successful. There are also trochaic tetrameters, anacreontics (rather free in rhythm), and one or two choral pieces. Certain versions are unsuccessful because the English is unsuitable; one is 'Crossing the Bar,' in which the last couplet reads

more confused in Greek even than in English, through no fault of the translator. We cannot pretend to have compared all the translations with their text as if examining for the Tripos, but we have noted hardly anything to find serious fault with. Perhaps the rhythm of the Theocriteans is not always quite sound (e.g. p. 30, line 6), the Anacreontics allow a variation of --- and =- in the first foot, and μετὰ γινῶσ (p. 235) is better avoided; surely Cordelia's truth is πίστις, not ἀλήθεια (p. 85). A few lighter pieces complete the volume: please note 'Mary had a Little Lamb,' in charming anacreontics.

Nugae Latinae: Verses and Translations by the late Edward Conolly, of Merton College, Oxford. Edited by Rev. T. L. PAPILLON. Oxford: Blackwell. 1908. 2s. net.

A BRIEF memoir precedes this booklet, explaining that 'verse-writing' was the solace of the author's life in time of trouble. The pieces given are few, but all delicately finished. Mr. Conolly prefers the lighter lyric or quasi-lyric metres, and he uses them with complete ease. Two versions are especially striking: both in trochaic tetrameter. One renders 'Der König in Thule' in old-fashioned style; the other, 'Lead Kindly Light.' Each easily puts two lines of English into one of Latin.

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Vol. xvii. 1906. Pp. 185. 6s. 6d. net.

MR. MORGAN leads off with a few detached notes on the text, subject matter, and date of Vitruvius. The most interesting point as to the text is the question whether a dative can be joined to *dignus*. He might have cited the parallel dative with ἄξιος and, as that suggests, have drawn a distinction. 'I am worthy of death' is different from 'This is worthy of (a worthy thing for) Venus,' and the latter would seem likelier to admit a dative. Mr. Rand argues in a very readable paper from material collected by others that Virgil was by no means adverse to Catullus and that he shows in fact no small liking and admiration for him. Except perhaps as regards Horace, Mr. Rand controverts the idea that Catullus was depreciated by the Augustans. Mr. Minton Warren gives an account of five Roman MSS. of Donatus on Terence, not used in Wessner's edition, and Mr. Moore maintains that the *taurobolium* originated in the worship of the Great Mother herself in Asia Minor. Prof. H. Weir Smyth prints his presidential address to the American Philological Association on 'Aspects of Greek Conservatism,' dealing mainly with the fixity of types and some other conservative traditions in Greek literature. About political, social or speculative matters he has less to say. Dr.

W. W. Goodwin recurs to the Battle of Salamis and urges further with modifications the view he has previously put forward about the movements of the Persian fleet. Prof. J. W. White argues that not only in the *Lysistrata* and one part of the *Acharnians* but generally in Aristophanes the chorus falls constantly into two divisions, and—what is his special point—that we may recognise a good deal as said or sung by the leader of a second half-chorus as distinguished from the coryphaeus who leads the first half and at other times the two halves together. In the lack of clear evidence the matter is very doubtful, but Mr. White's suggestions deserve careful consideration, founded as they are on minute study and sober judgment. Dr. J. H. Wright, dismissing the idea that the *cave* in Plato's *Republic* was suggested by anything in Empedocles, or again that the Corycian cave on Parnassus or the Syracusan quarries had anything to do with it, starts the interesting theory that a cave at Vari on Hymettus ('finally and fully explored in February, 1901, by students of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens') was in Plato's mind. Running parallel with the back wall of the cave, he says, for about eighty feet and at a distance of fourteen is a platform of stone, raised some feet above the floor. Images and votive offerings have been found on the spot. Tradition connects the infant Plato

with Hymettus, though not explicitly with the Vari cave. Mr. Chase writes on an amphora; Mr. Parker on Seneca's *Sacer intra nos spiritus* (*Ep.* 41), contending that *spiritus* represents energy more than anything else, and that πνεῦμα in St. Paul has the same meaning: it is as energy that the spirit is opposed to the enslaving flesh, not as abstract Platonic

thought (νοῦς) or as modern mystical personality. Finally, Mr. Howard examines in detail the relation of Livy to Valerius Antias with the view of showing that Livy, far from following Valerius blindly, had the greatest possible distrust of his authority.

H. RICHARDS.

SHORT NOTICES

HEGEMONIUS: *ACTA ARCHELAI*.

Hegemonius: Acta Archelai, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der K. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss. Von CHARLES HENRY BEESON. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1906. lvi + 134. Price M. 6.

THE *Acta Archelai*, which has served for a long time as an important source for our knowledge of Manichaeism, has till recently been known only in an imperfect form. It was suspected that it was incomplete, and this has been placed beyond question by Traube's discovery of a manuscript containing the complete Latin text. This has now been edited for the series known as *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte*, by Mr. C. H. Beeson. He has prefixed an admirable introduction dealing with the references to it in literature; the original language, which in common with most recent scholars he believes to have been Greek, not Syriac; the Latin translation; the manuscripts and their relation to each other. There is an excellent critical apparatus and exhaustive indices, those for the Greek and Latin words deserving special praise. The author has not shrunk from putting conjectural emendations in his text, for example Routh's 'parabolam' for 'paruulam' in chapter 67. The chief interest of the work lies, however, in the new portion. The older text broke off in the most tantalising way in the middle of a very important quotation from Basilides, which seemed to several scholars definitely to pledge the great heresiarch to the recognition of two original independent principles,

light and darkness. Other scholars considered that while the author of the *Acta* took Basilides to be a dualist, the quotation did not necessarily bear out this inference. The new material is extremely interesting, but it does not seem definitely to settle the question whether Basilides endorsed the description of Persian dualism which he gave. It is very regrettable that the author did not prolong his quotation. In view of the sensational discovery of primitive Manichaean documents at Turfan, the importance of the *Acta* for our knowledge of Manichaeism will be much diminished, and if we could only be lucky enough to recover the *Exegetica* of Basilides we should be able to solve a problem which the additional material in the new manuscript of Hegemonius, in spite of Bousset's contrary opinion in his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, seems to leave much where it was.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

Le Droit Pénal Romain. Par TH. MOMMSEN.

Traduit de l'allemand avec l'autorisation de la famille de l'auteur et l'éditeur allemand par J. DUQUESNE, professeur à la faculté de droit de Grenoble. Volumes I-III. Pp. xvi, 401, 443, 420. Paris: Fontemoing, 1907. Fr. 30.

IN default of an English translation of Mommsen's standard work on *Römisches Strafrecht* this competent and readable version in French by Professor Duquesne will prove a boon to the considerable number of English and American students who cannot read German or prefer to read French. The book is strictly a translation, the only alterations

introduced in addition to those warranted by the errata in the German edition, are a few corrections of indisputable mistakes; the change of *perduellis* (ii. p. 234 = 538) to *perduellio* would appear then to be an accident. The pagination of the original is given in the margin, and a full index is promised, the German one being insufficient. The tribute which the translator pays to the author may be quoted here: 'Il fallait, en effet, pour répondre aux exigences de tous

dans le domaine du droit pénal, réunir les connaissances du jurisconsulte, de l'historien et du philologue; or Mommsen les possédait toutes à un degré rare. Conçu et exécuté par un tel savant, le livre ne pouvait être qu'une œuvre magistrale appelée à une grande renommée et à un long avenir. Les espérances n'ont pas été déçues et tous les juges compétents s'accordent à reconnaître que l'édifice construit est "solide comme le granit."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

MR. B. G. TEUBNER (Leipzig) asks purchasers of Brandt's *Eclogae Poetarum Latinorum* to communicate with him, if they have any suggestions to make as to a new edition. He wishes to know whether they find the selection meets their wants, or whether they would recommend any change, omission, or addition. Letters may be addressed to Mr. Nutt.

THE two longest papers in the *Classical Quarterly* for April are Mr. T. W. Allen's dissertation on the meaning of Argos in Homer and Mr. A. T. Martin's examination of an inscription to Mars found at Caerwent. Mr. Cook Wilson writes on the use of ἀλλ' ἢ in Aristotle and points out in a shorter paper that Miss D. Mason's explanation of Philebus 31C has been anticipated. Mr. W. R. Paton contributes suggestions on the first six books of the Laws of Plato. The later Greeks are well represented in the number. Mr. Tucker emending Strabo and Plutarch's *Moralia* and Mr. Richards the *Philostrati*, while Mr. Kronenberg has a few notes on M. Antoninus. The editor, writing on 'Some Tibullian problems,' discusses Mr. Warde Fowler's theory of Tibullus II. i. as published in the *Classical Review* of March, 1908. The reviews comprise Traube's 'Nomina Sacra' and posthumous works by Mr. Lindsay, Henderson's 'Civil War and Rebellion,' by Mr. E. G. Hardy, Bianca Bruno's 'Third Samnite War,' by Miss Matthaei, and 'A

Sketch-book of Ancient Rome,' by Mr. Ashby.

BESIDES the representations of the *Frogs* at Oxford and the *Iphigeneia* at Cardiff, there are other signs of the vivifying of classical work. Miss Ethel Wilkinson of Chicago describes in the *Classical Journal* the acting of Roman scenes in a way that gives scope for much originality. In one class a Latin debate was held on the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators. 'The teacher's chair represented the sella curulis, the ordinary seats the subsellia, a side aisle the lobby where Cicero's son-in-law Piso stood. . . . Some had the part of tribunes stationed near the door, others were lictors. The auspices were declared favorable. . . . We had a number of short speeches in addition to those on record by Decimus Silanus, Cato and Caesar.' Since the pupils knew they were to act later, they took a keen interest in the preliminary reading of the fourth against Catiline.

Another class acted the meeting of the senate described by Cicero in his third speech before the people. Volturcius was brought in alone and cross-examined, afterwards the Allobroges, and then the conspirators, one by one, were confronted with their seal and handwriting, and obliged to own them. The thread was cut, and the contents of the waxed tablets read. During the cross-examination, Sulpicius rushed in

breathless, bearing an armful of poles (the weapons from Cethegus' house). Another class acted the trial of Archias in the same way.

Hints for similar scenes may be found in most of the ancient orations. For example, Zenothemis makes a very good series of scenes for beginners in Greek. Others, depending more on invention, may be found in the teacher's appendix to Walters & Conway's *Limen*.

THE 'FROGS' AT OXFORD.

LIKE all revivals of Greek plays, the recent representation of the *Frogs* was at once helped and embarrassed by the success of a former production. The immense popularity of the 1892 play has become a legend, and subsequent performances are bound to suffer by comparison: at the same time, the earlier experience of Oxford and Radley supplied many useful hints, sometimes warnings, more often examples, of which recent stage management was able to take full advantage: and it may be fairly said that in point of archaeological correctness, artistic effect, stage machinery and *mise en scène* generally, this year's representation improved on both its predecessors, and did infinite credit to the O.U.D.S. and their collaborators—notably to Mr. Cyril Bailey, the guiding spirit of the whole. All that criticism can suggest is that perhaps improvement and imitation can go a little too far in exploiting the (of course abundant) opportunities for comic business. For instance, the 'corpse' achieved an extraordinary popularity in 1892—in its place: ought it therefore to appear as a comic κωφὸν πρόσωπον in the latter part of the play? Again, the βρεκεκεκέξ scene was really spoilt by the introduction of small boys dressed as frogs,—however much this may have amused the children themselves and their families. But these are small matters.

If no two actors quite competed with the

Euripides-Dionysus combination of seventeen years ago, what was noticeable this year was the general average of competence throughout. The minor performers were uniformly good: Heracles had a gift of truly Heracleian laughter, Aeacus maintained the best traditions of his part, and Charon, with his far-away suggestion of a 'bus-conductor in the nether world, was quite excellent. Moreover, Greek seemed to be familiar to a larger proportion of the cast than is usual on these occasions. Among the more important rôles, Mr. Corbett's Euripides was the best piece of acting in the play—quiet, restrained, dignified, and showing also an unusual familiarity with the stage. The only question was whether Aristophanes did not intend Euripides to be a little more ridiculous. M. de Stein entered into the part of Xanthias with great humour. The rôle of Dionysus is extremely difficult: like Hamlet, he is on the stage nearly all the time: and no two critics agree as to how the part should be acted. Certainly it is wrong to make him an aesthete: probably to present him as a keen-witted and rather cynical and also rather effeminate man of the world is nearer the mark. Under the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that M. Howard as Dionysus seemed rather more conscious of what he had to avoid than what he had to aim at: and his representation was rather colourless in consequence: but the fault such as it was lay more in the conception, or want of conception, than in the acting, and he deserved credit for grappling manfully with difficulties which perhaps could hardly be overcome.

Taking the play as a whole, the impression of the acting is one of pervading merit rather than pre-éminent brilliance. But the chorus may be praised without any qualification. They moved as they should and they sang Sir Hubert Parry's music as it ought to be sung: it is even said that they satisfied their conductor. Few who saw the play will forget the delightful effect of the χωρῶμεν ἐς πολυρόδους λειμῶνας movement.

Φ.

VERSIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

FOR GREEK ELEGIACS.

TAKE me away, and in the lowest deep
 There let me be,
 And there in hope the lone night-watches
 keep
 Told out for me.
 There soul-refreshed and happy in my pain,
 Lone, not forlorn,—
 There will I sing my sad perpetual strain,
 Until the morn.

NEWMAN, *The Dream of Gerontius*.

(Set in the Classical Tripos, Cambridge, Feb. 22, 1882.)

IDEM GRAECE.

Ἐἰά τις εἶα λαβὼν ποτιθές μ' ὑπὸ βένθεσι
 γαίης,
 δὸς τέ μοι τῇλε φίλων κείσθαι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
 ἔλπιδας ἐνθα τρέφω μακρᾶς διὰ νυκτὸς αὔπνος
 ἐν δοφεροῖς κευθοῖς ἄμαρ ἐπ' ἄμαρ ἄγων.
 ἔνθαδε μῶνος ἔων, μάλα δ' ὄλβιος, ἄλγεα κρύψω
 ἔντοσθεν παραπίδων τῇνδ' ἀναπαύλαν ἔχων.
 λήξω δ' οὐποθ' ὀλῆς λιγυρῶς διὰ νυκτὸς ἀείρειν
 ἐν θνήνοις μινυροῖς δακρύνουσιν ὄπα.

J. HUDSON.

*Pet. Coll. and Seatonian (University)
 Prizeman.*

PRINCE'S GRAVE.

Here in his grave above the lonely sea
 Sleeps Prinnie, faithful to the last to me.
 No more he'll roam these hills and dales,
 no more
 Will breast the waves upon the windy shore:
 His times are over and his sun is set;
 His dear old self lives on in memory yet!

W. H. SAVILE.

Μνήμα τόδ', ὦ παριών, ὑπὲρ ἀτρυγέτοιον
 θαλάσσης
 ἡρίον εἰσαθρεῖς πιστοτάτου σκύλακος.
 οὐκέτ' ἀν' οὐρεα μακρὰ κυλίνδεται, οὐκέτ' ἀν'
 ἄγκη,
 οὐκέτι δὴ παίξει κύμασι νηχόμενος·
 ἡέλιος δὲ δέδυκέ οἱ ὕστατον. ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς
 ζῶει ἀείμνηστος δεσπότην ἐν κραδίῳ.

R. C. SEATON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1909

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

DR. WARREN'S DEATH OF VIRGIL AND CLASSICAL STUDIES.

SOME critics may depreciate the literary merit of Dr. Warren's *Death of Virgil*: Walter Savage Landor would have esteemed it highly. But, independently of its merit as poetry, it comes very opportunely just now. For it is an object-lesson of the way in which Greek and Latin Classics must be studied, if they are to keep their place in education.

At this moment in England the air is rife with controversies about education, as if we were awakening to the fact, that the making of the character of the nation is more really momentous than questions of finance; and certainly of all educational questions this particular one is not the least in importance. The old struggle of the fifteenth century in Europe seems to recur in a new shape. Then the nascent literature of Hellas dethroned scholasticism. Now the culture, almost universal in its range, robust and vigorous though versatile and exquisite, which Europe inherits from the most artistic race that ever was,¹ will be lost, unless the literature, which enshrines this Culture, can be studied in such a temper and in such a method as to be made interesting generally. It must be brought into familiar contact with the sympathies of life, as life is lived now. The

¹ All that is finest in Roman art and literature percolates from Greece. Southern Italy to this day is more Greek than Roman.

dead Past must live again before our eyes. The men and women of to-day must find their counterparts, in flesh and blood, (by the touch of nature, which 'makes the world akin,') limned by the unfaltering hand of men, who drank their inspiration from the pellucid skies, the soft airs, the 'old poetic mountains' of Attica. This is what Dr. Warren has done for us in his *Death of Virgil*.

Poetry cannot be transliterated from one language to another. The spirit may be transfused, but not the letter. Swift's lines

'Harley, the nation's great support,
Returning home one day from court,
Espied a parson near Whitehall
Cheapening old authors at a stall, etc.,

are more truly Horace, and Johnson's

'All sciences a fasting Mounseer knows,
And, bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes—'

is more truly Juvenal's

'omnia novit
'Graeculus escuriens; ad coelum jusseris, ibit'

than the most rigidly exact rendering could be.

The author rightly calls his *Death of Virgil* a 'dramatic narrative,' not a 'drama.' It is more akin to *Comus* or *Samson Agonistes* than to the ordinary stage-play. Action there is hardly any. Yet the interest never flags. The picture of Virgil, as he lay, fever-stricken,

at what is now Brindisi, is life-like; the Tennysonian flow of the blank verse, most difficult though easiest of metres, is graceful and musical; the tone, the sentiment rings true. The reader sees it all and feels it all—the sick-room, the friends standing by, the dying poet himself.

Both as man and poet Virgil is here portrayed justly. Conington put Virgil and Scott together.¹ Both had the same passion for country-life and folk-lore, the same fondness for stringing a sonorous list of place-names together, the same patriotic ardour. Both sing of feats of arms. Here the difference comes in. To the one Marmion's last charge on Flodden Field or the bold moss-charger

‘on his border foray
Pattering an Ave Mary’

was a joy; to the other all this sort of thing was perfunctory, to please his friend and patron, the Caesar. ‘Let me love streams and woods and I am content without fame.’ If, as Dr. Warren paints him, he was hyper-critical about his *Aeneid*, morbidly anxious to add a finishing touch to what was already polished enough, his sensitiveness was for love of his art mainly. He was singularly unambitious, unsordid, unselfish, a ‘white soul,’ as his friend Horace said; and this sheer unworldliness made him, like ‘Noll’ Goldsmith, all the more lovable. This fastidious scrupulosity of the dying poet, though it detracts somewhat from the greatness of the man, makes the whole scene more truly human. It might be Tennyson revising an Idyll again and again in the presence of the Prince Consort and Gladstone.

Even a reader who has never heard of the *Aeneid* realises, how true to nature it all is. The dry bones are scarfed again with flesh and nerve and sinew; the hopes and fears of to-day pulsate in the men of 1900 years ago. One might be reading of Alexander Pope, sick at an inn in Southampton with Bolingbroke near his pillow.

¹Dr. Arnold at Rugby used to compare Virgil's ‘*Audiit et Triviae longè lacus*’ with the convent bell in *Marmion*.

The stately Romans in their tunics and togas, how modern they become! Horace, for instance,

‘that friend of friends,
The little, plump, shrewd, dapper poet-critic;
The laughing, loving, lyric-satirist,
Of wit and heart, honey and gall compounded’

may be found easily, if one looks for him, at a club in Pall-Mall. The faithful Eros is the literary man's typewriter in this twentieth century. Virgil is ‘poet-laureate.’ He and Horace in their early days were ‘treasury-clerk and briefless barrister.’ The comic incidents of their journey to Brundisium are the ‘clown and pantaloons’ of our Drury Lane. Time and distance are annihilated. Men, women and children all the world over, their almost infinite diversity of idiosyncrasies notwithstanding, are strangely like one another after all.

It is an anachronism to introduce microbes into Virgil's reminiscences of the graveyard at Megara. But the thought is quite in keeping with the environment, when Augustus, anticipating the future glory of his friend, imagines

‘Kings in the crisis of their fortune's fate’

endeavouring, like our Charles I., to find an omen in the ‘Sortes Virgilianae,’ or some famous poet in the far-away British Isles treading in Virgil's footsteps, like our Tennyson, with King Arthur in place of ‘pius Aeneas.’

Many other things, as well as largeness and thoroughness of culture, have to be thrown into the scales when we poise the ‘pros and cons,’ the loss and gain, the advantages and disadvantages of retaining the study of Greek and Latin. To learn these languages is an ‘Open Sesame’ to the romance languages of modern Europe, as well as to the technical language of modern science. What is more vital still, merely as gymnastic, no substitute for this study has yet been found in the way of developing the faculty of observation. Call the niceties of Greek philology, if you will, a mere drill, a treadmill. Even so they have their use. The first thing in learning is ‘to learn how to learn.’ All this, and much besides, will have to go, unless people can be brought to see that

those, who taught and wrote centuries ago, are in close touch with life nowadays. This is what the *Death of Virgil* helps one to realise. It shows vividly the humanising influence of what has been rightly called 'litterae humaniores.' We talk of 'the dead languages.' They are not 'dead.' The teaching of them must be un-pedantic. Too much stress in days past may have been laid on particles and accents. The danger now is of exaggerating the value of the exhumation of paraphernalia, which are merely accessories to the great drama of Life.

The study of Latin and Greek, except for professed students, must be compressed into fewer years by the use of such schoolbooks as Thackeray's *Analecta*. And the prurientes must be got rid of, which are a blot on what is otherwise supremely beautiful. The time for learning is limited; year by year the struggle for existence grows keener; and, deplore it as one may, with too many what is immediate counts for more than what seems far away.

I. GREGORY SMITH.

Horsell, Woking, 1909.

THREE FRAGMENTS OF SAPPHO.

WHEN Herculaneum gives up its treasures we may confidently hope that Sappho's poems will be among them. Meanwhile we owe it to the greatest poetess of the world to make the very best we can of the few fragments of her works that have been recovered in recent times. In all of these torn pieces of papyrus or vellum there is something to be supplied, before, even as fragments, they can be in any sense complete. Often the beginnings of all the lines are torn away, or there is an internal gap to be bridged by conjecture, or the loss of a line at the top or bottom of the page suggests to the reader's mind a lovely sculptured head that has come down to us lacking nose or chin. The proper limits of restoration are, of course, a matter of personal taste. No one would add a new body to the Castellani Head of Aphrodite; but while some would leave the Hermes of Praxiteles with no legs and but one foot, many would prefer him with both legs and both feet. In dealing with these fragments of Sappho's work I have allied myself with the latter school. In two places where the context gives a clue I have not hesitated to 'restore' a whole line, in the hope that in meaning, at any rate, the words come near to what Sappho wrote. Where there are gaps, external or internal, I have tested all suggestions by tracing letters and letter-groups from the extant portions, and in the case of lines lacking their beginning

have sought to make the proposed additions correspond in written length. In the first fragment the length of the internal gaps is itself doubtful. The only means of arriving at an accurate estimate here was to reconstruct the MS in such a way as to correct all twists, rents, and creases of the vellum. This I have done by making tracings of certain portions separately and then piecing them together.

These tests have overthrown many of the earlier suggestions, and while I cannot claim certainty for those I have substituted for them, I feel sure that in most cases we now have the choice of but two or perhaps three possible alternatives.

The first two fragments were first published by Dr. W. Schubart in *Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1902, i. p. 195, with a facsimile, and have been re-edited in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2 (1907), where a bibliography will be found. They are written side by side on a piece of vellum which, folded down the middle, formed two not necessarily consecutive leaves of a book. The writing dates from about the 7th century. The first contains a large gap, where however two or perhaps three lines can be restored from extant quotations. Of the second only the beginning of the first stanza, a few letters of the second, and the last word of the last, have been torn away. In both cases I have worked upon new

photographs kindly supplied me by Dr. Schubart. They are a good deal clearer than the facsimile in the *Sitzungsberichte*.

I. In the Ode to the Nereids Sappho seeks to make up a quarrel with her brother. The motive of the present fragment would seem to be similar. In *Fr.* 41¹ Sappho complains that her pupil Atthis has left her for a rival teacher: 'Atthis, it became hateful to thee to think of me, and now thou flutterest after Andromeda.' In *Fr.* 33 she is probably harping on the same string: 'I loved thee once, Atthis, long ago.' Neither of these fragments can belong here. Not only is the metre different, but the subject of this piece is in the third person. On the other hand this poem may well have had the same motive, and the use of the third person in such a case is paralleled by the Ode to the Nereids. We need but one line to complete a stanza, which, considering the length and unity of what follows, may well have been the first. The relative $\tilde{a}$ below makes a feminine third-person subject necessary; $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ calls for $\mu\omicron\iota$, $\xi\mu\theta\epsilon\nu$, or $\mu\epsilon$. I choose the name Atthis for the parallel with the two fragments above. For the crasis $\mu\omicron\iota$ οὐκ, cf. $\mu\eta$ ἀλλὰ below, ὠράνω αἴθερος *Ode* 1, and κείσεται οὐδέποτα, *Fr.* 68. If I have rightly interpreted the scanty traces of this line, crasis is unavoidable. Sappho and Alcaeus elsewhere use the form ἡλθον, *Sa.* 1. 8, *Alc.* 84, but Sappho sometimes uses Epic forms for metrical reasons, cf. ἀνήτοιο 78. 2.

Text:

- [Ἄτθις μοι οὐκ ἄ]ρ['] ἀνῆλυθε]ν,
 τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω.
 ἄ με ψισδομένα κατελίπτανεν
 πόλλα, καὶ τόδ' ἔειπ[έ] μοι.
 5 Ὡμ', ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν,
 Ψάπφ'· ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοις' ἀπυλιππάνω.
 τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν·
 Χαίροις' ἔρχο καῖμεθεν
 μέναι· Φοῖσθα γὰρ ὥς σε πεδήπομεν.
 10 αἰ δὲ μῆ, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω
 ὀμναισαι τ[ᾶ] σ['] ὑ['] [λᾶ]θραι,
 ὅσσ' [ἄμμες φίλα] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν·

¹ Bergk⁴.

πό[λλοις ἄ στεφάν]οις ἴων
 καὶ βρ[όδων γλυ]κίων γ' ὕμοι
 15 καπ π[λόκων] πᾶρ ἔμοι περεθήκαο,

καὶ πό[λλαις ὑπα]θύμιδας
 πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ'] ἀπάλαι δέραι
 ἀνθέων ἐκ[ατον] πεπονημένας,

καὶ πόλλωι ν[έαρ]οι γ' σὺν χρῶ
 20 βρενθείω πρ[οχ]ώωι μύρ[ω]
 ἐξαλείψαο κα[ὶ] βασιλῆω,

καὶ στρώμ[ιν]ας ἔπι κημένα
 ἀπάλαν πὰν [ἐδ]ητύων
 ἐξίης πόθο[ρ] ἡδὲ πότων γλύκιων.

25 κωῦτε τ . . . [. . .]
 ἱρον οὐδ' ὑ[] . . . [. . .]
 ἔπλετ' ὃν τρ[. . .] . . . [. . .]

οὐκ ἄλσος[. . .] . . . [. . .]

Critical Notes:

[The signs +, =, - indicate that a suggestion exceeds, coincides with, or falls short of, the gap in the MS.] 1/2 My suggestions fit the following scanty indications:—between the tops of δ and ο in ἀδολως a slanting stroke which must be the tail of ρ, φ, or ψ: above and some way to the right of ω in θελω' (sic) the bottom right-hand corner of ν: MS clearly δ'αδολως (not as S.) 3 MS ψισ'δομενα 4 MS τοδ' 5 MS ωμι' 6 MS ψαπφ' and σ': MS απυλιμπανω 7 MS τανδ': MS ταδ'αμειβομ'αν 8 MS χαιροις' 9 MS μεμναισθ'οισθα, the first θ has apparently been corrected 'to F: Wil. μέμναισο οισθα: Solmsen μέμνα Φοῖσθα: MS ωσε-πεδ'ηπομεν, for haplography cf. next frag. l. 6 10 MS σ' 11 S. [σὺ δε] λ[ά]θραι, but the tops of τ and ν are nearly certain 12 after οσσ the tops of what may be αμ: MS prob. φιλια: Jurenka ὅσσα τέρπνα τε—: MS καλ' 13 S. πόλλοις γὰρ +: MS ἴων 14 γλυκίων Fraccaroli, but κ may be χ: of Blass' α before this letter the traces are very doubtful: it is just possible that γ' may be τ' (B.), but cf. εγω l. 7 and νωνγ'απ next frag. l. 20: ὕμοι B. 15 περεθηκαο J. MS παρεθηκας 16/17 = *Fr.* 46: the letter after the gap in 16 is not θ, prob. δ 17 MS απαλαδεραϊ, the 3rd α being a correction of ι 18 Wil. ελαρινων + 19 MS πολλω 20 MS βρενθείω: MS prob. προχωω, the tail of ρ is clear: the last letter of the line appears as ωι in the MS; for carelessness about ι adscript cf. απαλα l. 17, πολλω l. 19, and next frag. ll. 18 and 20: S. βασιλῆωι — 21 MS εξαλειψαο 23 MS παν or παμ (not παρ) 24 MS ποθε or ποθο 26 MS ἱρον 27 MS επλετ' In this and the next fragment the stanzas are generally separated by short horizontal strokes placed above the first letter of the new stanza and projecting into the margin.

Translation:

So my Atthis is not come back, and in sooth I would I were dead. And yet she wept full sore to leave me behind, and said, 'Alas! how sad our lot, Sappho; I swear 'tis all against my will I leave thee.' To her I answered, 'Go thy way rejoicing and remember me; for thou knowest how I doted upon thee. And if thou rememberest not, O then I am fain to remind thee of what thou forgettest, how dear and beautiful was the life we led together. For with many a garland of violets and sweet roses mingled thou hast decked thy flowing locks by my side, and with many a woven necklet made of a hundred blossoms thy dainty throat; and with many a jar of myrrh both of the precious and the royal hast thou anointed thy fair young skin before me, and lying upon the couch hast taken thy fill of dainty meats and of sweet drinks. . . .'

Commentary:

3. *ψισδομένα*: cf. Hes. *ψιζομένη* κλαίονσα (S.). *κατελπιπανε*: so the MS; this may be right; *ρ^η* becomes *ππ* in *δππα*=*δμμα*, and it is possible that *π^η* also became *ππ*, cf. *κύββα* ap. Hes.=*κύμβη* and *ἀππασάμενος* for *ἀναπασάμενος* in Boeotian, the new Corinna *Asor.* 78; or the form might correspond to an imaginary Attic *λειπάνω*, cf. *κευθάνω*, and for *ι εξαλιψαο* l. 21.
9. *μέμναι*: I take this to be the imperative corresponding to an indicative *μέμναιμαι*; an alternative is to read *μέμναισ'* *οἶσθα* (*μέμναισο*=*μέμνησο*), regarding *μεμναισθ'οἶσθα* as a blunder and *μεμναισφοῖσθα* as an ignorant attempt to correct it. The infinitive *μέμναισθ(αι)* would be strange so soon after *ἔρχεο*.
11. *δμναισαι*: i.e. *ἀναμνήσαι*.
12. *ἄμμες*: for *νῶ* as generally in Lesbian.
- 13 ff. I take *ἄ . . . γε* together 'seeing that thou'; the repeated *πόλλοις . . . πόλλαις . . . πόλλωι* refer of course to the frequency of these delightful scenes, not to the number of the wreaths, etc., on any one occasion.
14. *γλυκίων*: i.e. *γλυκίων*, cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 48; there seems to be no flower-name which could follow *βρόδων* here; this makes *τ'* impossible unless we read *καί* for *κάπ* in l. 15 and another epithet instead of *πλόκων*. There are no words for 'red' and 'white' that will fit; besides, the scent is the point, not the colour.
ἔμοι: i.e. *ὁμοῦ*.
15. *κάπ πλόκων*: *πλόκος* is so used in the compound *ὑπλόκος* by Alcaeus *Fr.* 55; *κατά* suits long hair; the phrase is contrasted with *ἀμφ' ἀπάλαι δέραι* below.
18. *ἀνθέων ἔκατον*: an epithet would be out of place here; to speak of flowers in general after *ἔα* and *βρόδα* above, would seem strange unless they are mentioned for their *number*.
πεπονημένα: perhaps a late blunder on the false analogy of *σελάννα* etc.; but the 'false' extension may also have been made in Sappho's time; the MSS read *κάλημι* l. 16, *φίλημι* *Fr.* 79, *νόημα* *Fr.* 14 and on an inscription we find *προαγρημμενω*, cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 148.
- 20/21. In his note on *Fr.* 49 Bergk quotes Athenaeus 15. 690 E *Σαπφῶ δὲ ὁμοῦ μέμνηται τοῦ τε βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ βρενθείου, λέγουσα οὕτως· βρενθείω βασιλῆϊ.* If this was the place, Athenaeus must have been quoting from memory. Though the two words would scan here side by side, the MS reads *βρενθείω* followed by an obscure letter and then *ρ*, and moreover *βασιλῆϊω* would be a good deal too short for the gap.
- 23/24. *πάν*: short in Aeolic, see Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 36; I take it here as accusative masculine, cf. Alc. ap. Choer. Dict. 95. 12 (Bgg. 48a) *Αἶαν=Αἶαντα*, and *λυκάβαν=λυκάβαντα* *C.I.G.* 2169 (M.-A. i. p. 158); so too in LXX.
πάν . . . ἐξίης πόθον: either (1) 'didst put forth all thy desire,' i.e. eat without restraint, or (2) like the Homeric *ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο* 'didst put away all thy desire,' i.e. eat thy fill. The active occurs in the latter sense *Il.* 24. 227 *ἐπὶ γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἶην*. *γλυκίων*: disyllabic, cf. *χρυσίοισιν* *Fr.* 85. *ἐδητύων*: or perhaps *ἐδωδάων*; Sappho is said to have used the form *Μοισάων*, *Fr.* 164.
The following restoration of ll. 23, 24 I think more fanciful and less likely:
*ἀπάλαν πὰν [ἔρον φρένων
ἐξίης ποθέ[σαισ] ἑτάρας τέας,*
'hast sent forth all the love of thy tender heart in desire of thy friend.' With *ἑτάρας τέας* cf. *Frag.* 83 *δαύοις ἀπάλας ἑτάρας | ἐν στήθεσιν*. Blass suggested *καὶ στρώμας ἀπὸ μαλθάκας | ἀπάλαν παρ' ἔμοι χέρα | ἐξίης ποθέσαισα πότον γλύκιν*. But *παρ'* is a misreading of the MS and *χέρα* is unlikely for *χέρρα*, cf. M.-A. i. p. 147 and Alc. new frag. *C.R.* May.
- II. This poem, though ostensibly addressed to a pupil who was still with Sappho, was doubtless intended to be sent to another pupil who had taken up her abode across the sea. If I am right in supposing only one line to be lost at the beginning of the preceding fragment, there is perhaps some probability that only one is missing here. The two poems would then begin at equal distances from the upper edge of the original pages. The existing remains of this poem, like those of the other, seem to me in favour of this view. Of the first stanza we have

σαρδεῖ in the 2nd line and all of the 3rd line but the first three syllables. The sense of the whole piece points to 'at Sardis.' We next want a verb and, to agree with ἔχοισα below, a feminine personal subject. The verb must be comparatively colourless, the emphasis lying in the participle which follows. The subject is of course the absent pupil, and the person addressed may be presumed from ἐπιμνάσθεις 'Ἀτθίδος in l. 16 and νῶιν in l. 20. If, as it now seems natural to suppose, the subject of ἐζώμεν is 'we three,' then a mention of 'you and me' in the 1st line is necessary. The use of φίλα seems the best way to bring them in. The sense of the passage points to 'distant Sardis.' The beginnings of ll. 2 and 3 are limited as to written length.

Text:

- [Ἄτθι, σοὶ κάμυι Μνασιδίκα φίλα]
 πηλόροισ' ἐνὶ Σάρδεσσιν
 ναίει, πόλλακι τυίδε [ν]ῶν ἔχοισα,
 ὥς πο[τ'] ἐζώμεν β[ί]ον, αἷ]ς ἔχειν
 5 σὲ θέας ἰκέλαν ἀρι-
 γνώτας, σᾶι δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαιρε μόλπαι.
 νῶν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναι-
 κεσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω
 δύντος ἃ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα
 10 πὰρ τὰ πέρρεχοισ' ἄστρα, φάος δ' ἐπί-
 σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀλμύραν
 ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις,
 ἃ δ' ἔερσα κάλα κέχυνται τεθά-
 λαισι δὲ βρόδα κάπαλ' ἄν-
 15 θρυσκα καὶ μελίλωτος ἀνθεμώδης.
 πόλλα δὲ ξαφοίταισ' ἀγόνως ἐπι-
 μνάσθεις Ἄτθιδος, ἱμέρω
 λέπταν Φοι φρένα κῆρ ἄσαι βόρηται.
 κίθινι τ' ἔλθην ἄμμ' ὄξυ βροαὶ τὰ δ' οὐ
 20 νῶιν γ' ἄπυστα νύξ πολύω[ς]
 γαρνίει δ[ε] ἄλος πα[ρ]ενρεοίσας.

Critical Notes:

- 3 MS τυίδε 4 MS ζώμεν J. εὐζώμεν + 5 MS ἰκέλαν 6 γνωτασε, for haplography cf. previous frag. l. 9: σᾶι and ἔχαιρε Fraccaroli: MS μαλίστ' 7 MS ἐνπρέπεται (not ἐνπρεκεται) 8 MS ποτ' 9 (end) MS μην (not μηνη) 10 MS παρτα (not παντα): MS περεχοισ 12 MS ἴσως 13 MS αδερσα 14 MS λεισι and καπαλ': ἀνθρυσκα B. 16 MS ξαφοίταισ (not ξαφοίτακ) 17 MS ἱμερω 18 MS

προι the 'accent' indicating that π is to be erased; π prob. arose from a misread F 18 MS ασα 19 MS κηθυ followed either by δ with a vertical line through it and τ written above or by δ corrected to τ: under λ in ἐλθην a short upright stroke, perhaps indicating that we should read ἐνθην, cf. M.-A. i. p. 125: MS βραταδ'ου 20 MS νων: MS apparently νύξ[.]ροπλυνω[], prob. νύξ γὰρ (the unmetrical γαρ due to the scribe's taking ἄπυστα as = ἄπυστά ἐστι) 21 MS γαρνει, cf. κηθυ above: MS δ[ε] ἄλος.

Translation:

Atthis, our loved Mnasidica dwells at far-off Sardis, but she often sends her thoughts hither, thinking how once we used to live in the days when she thought thee like a glorious goddess, and loved thy song the best. And now she shines among the dames of Lydia as after sunset the rosy-fingered moon beside the stars that are about her, when she spreads her light o'er briny sea and eke o'er flowery field, while the good dew lies on the ground and the roses revive and the dainty anthrisc and the honey-lotus with all its blooms. And oftentime when our beloved, wandering abroad, calls to mind her gentle Atthis, the heart devours her tender breast with the pain of longing; and she cries aloud to us to come thither; and what she says we know full well, thou and I, for Night, the many-eared, calls it to us across the dividing sea.

Commentary:

2. πηλόροισ': i.e. τηλούροις, cf. ὄρανος Sa. 37 and Alc. 34. 1 (but ὠρανος Sa. 1. 11, Alc. 17), and πῆλυι Sa. 1. 6.
 4. ἐζώμεν βλον, ἄς: nothing can be made of the MS reading unless the stop is shifted, for to fill the gap we have practically no choice but between βεβάως and βλον, ἄς (i.e. ἔως), and we want a temporal particle; βλον is merely antecedent to the relative particle, ἄς, 'the life in which.'
 5. σὲ θέας: for the short syllable at the beginning cf. ἀπάλαν in l. 23 of the previous fragment.
 6. -γνώτας, σᾶι: the MS reading σε is meaningless and probably unmetrical; for haplography cf. ερσα for ἔερσα below and l. 9 of the previous fragment.
 9. σελάννα: the MS reading μην (for μήνη?) is unmetrical.
 10. πὰρ τὰ πέρρεχοισ' ἄστρα: i.e. παρὰ ἃ περιέχουσιν ἄστρα, 'compared with the stars which surround her,' cf. Fr. 3 ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν κ.τ.λ. For pp cf. πέρορχος Sa. 92 and Meist.-Ahr. p. 142.

16 ff. *ζαφοίταισ'*: i.e. *διαφοιῶσα*, present participle of *ζαφοταίμ*, *nominativus pendens*; *ἐπιμνάσθαισα* is dependent on it.

ἀγónας: so the MS for *ἀγάνας*; it may well be the Aeolic form, cf. *ὄνλα*, *ὄν* for *ἀνά*.

ιμέρω: genitive with *ἄσῃ*.

λέπταν: cf. Simon. 37. 14 *λεπτόν ὑπείχες οὐας*.

βόρηται: third person singular of a middle *μι*-verb *βόρηναι* corresponding to a form *βορέομαι* in Attic = *βιβρώσκω*, cf. *βορά*, *φορά*, *φορέω*.

If we keep *ποι*, several alternatives present themselves—all, to my mind, unsatisfactory: (1) take *ζαφοίταισ'* as 3rd person singular, *ποι* as 'in what direction,' 'for whom,' introducing an indirect question loosely dependent on *ἐπιμνάσθαισα*, *ιμέρω* and *ἄσῃ* as dative, and *βόρηται* = *βαρεῖται*, and translate 'and often our beloved wanders abroad calling to mind her gentle Atthis, (and wondering) for whom her tender breast is oppressed with longing (and) her heart with pain'; but *βόρηται* for *βαρεῖται* is hardly paralleled by *βρόχυν* for *βραχύν*, for *ορ* in Aeolic represents *ερ* in Attic (cf. *ὄρπερον* Fr. 40)¹; moreover the omission of 'and' is almost if not quite impossible; and further, the point is not Atthis' love for an unknown person but the Sardis lady's love for Atthis, as the following lines show—besides, *νῦν* would be required; (2) take *ποι* as dative of a word equivalent to *τίς* agreeing first with *ιμέρω* and then with *ἄσῃ*; this is open to the same objections; (3) read *ἱμερος*, taking *ζαφοίταισα* (and *ἐπιμνάσθαισα* dependent on it) as *nominativus pendens*, take *ποι* = *ποιεῖ* (cf. *χρῶν* for *χρῶτ* or *χρῶτ* Sa. 2. 10 and *Ode to the Nereids*, *ὄν* 'sheep' 95. 2, and Soph. *El.* 882 where it has been proposed to read *νόει* as a monosyllable), *ἄσῃ* as nominative and *βόρηται* = 'devours,' translating 'longing wastes her frame (and) pain preys upon her heart.' The omission of 'and' makes this very doubtful. Other possibilities involve the same or similar difficulties, e.g. *ποι* = *πον* enclitic as Pindar *Pylh.* 5 et al. (so Wilam., and *βόρηται* = *βαρεῖται*, *ποι* = *πρός* as in Doric.

19. *κῆθνι*: I follow previous editors with some hesitation; if this form corresponds to Attic *ἐκέισε* with the -*νι* termination seen in *τυῖδε*, should we not expect *κῆσνι*, cf. *μέσσυ* for *μεσσόθυ*? perhaps the *θ* appears by contamination with *κῆθνι* = *ἐκείθι* and *κῆθεν* = *ἐκείθεν*. I should suggest as an alternative *κῆθνυ* = *καὶ εὐθύ* if it did not give a weak sense.

19 ff. *τὰ δὲ* 'and what she says,' *οὐ νῶν γ'* *ἄπυστα* 'not unknown to us' (predicate), *νῦξ πολύως* (= *πολύωτος*) 'Night with her many ears,' *γαρυεῖ δι' ἄλος* 'calls across the sea.'

νῶν: the dual is unusual in Lesbian, but as it occurs sometimes in verbs (e.g. *καθέταν* Alc. 39. 5? *ποίητον* *El. M.* 23. 12, cf. Meist.-Ahr.

pp. 178, 188) and the form *νῶε* is found in Boeotian, Cor. 5, there is no reason to reject it.

γαρυεῖ: for the form see Meist.-Ahr. p. 181.

παρενπεολσας: our choice seems to lie between words meaning 'silent,' 'dark,' or 'flowing between'; cf. *παρεμβάλλω*, *παρεμπίπτω*, *παρένθεσις*. As an alternative avoiding the unsupported compound I would suggest *περιπεολσας*, 'flowing around,' implying that Lesbos is an island and so emphasising the impossibility of the friends' meeting.

III. The third fragment was discovered in 1879. It is included among the Adespota in Bergk's posthumous edition, but Blass ascribed it to Sappho, and metre and style alike are in favour of this view. It is re-edited in the *Berliner Klassikertexte* v. I have used the excellent facsimile in Wharton's *Sappho* (1895). The fragment is part of a vellum page, both sides of which contained poems in the Sapphic metre, but only one of the two is sufficiently preserved to warrant an attempt at restoration. The writing on both sides is by the same hand, the letters small and neat, suggesting that there were horizontal lines ruled for each line of the text and a vertical line on the left to secure an even margin. That the former were at right angles to the latter, becomes evident if we place tracings of the two sides back to back, when the lines on one side are seen to be parallel to those on the other. In the following attempt the beginnings of the lines all coincide with a vertical line drawn at right angles to the text, and for that reason may be regarded as coming nearer than the ends to what Sappho wrote.

The occasion of the poem I take to be a quarrel between Sappho and one of her brothers, probably Charaxus. Of the three brothers mentioned by Suidas one is known only from that passage, and another, Larichus, is known to have been a great favourite with her. The third is Charaxus, of whom she wrote in the *Ode to the Nereids*. The drift of the passage does not perhaps justify us in supposing that this is the poem in which we are told by Herodotus that she *πολλὰ ἐκερτόμησέ μιν* when he returned from Nau-cratis with the ransomed Rhodopis. We feel that in that poem she must have spoken more directly. But there is to my mind an elder-sisterly ring in this fragment which

¹ *πτόρμος* for *παρμός* is a possible exception, cf. Meist.-Ahr. i. p. 49.

makes it probable that it was addressed to Charaxus on an earlier occasion. That Sappho was older than Charaxus is very probable. She was old enough and important enough to be included among the nobles who were banished from Lesbos in 596. Suidas' date for her birth, Ol. 42 (612—), is therefore probably too late. She must have written the *Ode to the Nereids* at least a year or so after 570; for it was in that year that Egypt, under Amasis, was thrown open to Greek trade, and, moreover, Herodotus says, 2. 134, κατ' Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις. Sappho must then have been at least 50 in 568, but it is extremely unlikely that the wayward Charaxus was as old at that date. We find the same dignified and yet straightforward tone of remonstrance in her answer to Alcaeus (*Fr.* 28) αἱ δ' ἡχες ἔσλον ἥμερον ἢ κάλων κ.τ.λ. But here there is something else as well, the idea of a family honour to be upheld, an idea which occurs again, if I am not mistaken, in the *Ode to the Nereids*— γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι | δύσκλεα μῆδεις.

Text:

. . .] δώσῃν.
τῷ κλ[ύτων μέν τ' ἐπ[ότει πεδ' ἄνδρων
κωὺ κ[άλων κάσλων, ἐ[νέπει δὲ χαίρην
τοῖς φι[λοῖς, λύπης τέ μ[ε σοὶ γένεσθαι
5 φαῖς ἔ]μ' ὄνειδος,
ἦπαρ] οἰδήσῃς. ἐπὶ τᾷ[ιδε δ' ὕβρει
καρδεῖ]αν ἄσαιο· τὸ γὰρ ὑ[όημα
τῷ]μον οὐκ οὕτω μ[αλάκως χόλαι παί-
δων] διάκῃται.
10 ὄρπε,] μῆδ' [.

Critical Notes:

1 Bergk δοκίμοις χάριν μοι | οὐκ ἀπυδῶσῃν+ and the open vowels in μοι οὐκ make it very doubtful
2 κλύων Bl.,]ύων is also possible: over τ in μεντ a zigzag mark: Buecheler συμφύτων μέντ' ἐπατόνοις λύραισι: Bgk. ἐπτερύγῃς 3 κάλων Bl.: Bue. καὶ

κάλων κάσλων ἐπέων ἀπέλλης— 4 τοῖς φίλοις Bue.: MS λύπηστέμ (not λύπηστέμ): Bl. με κάπορίπτῃς 5 Bl. εἰς ἐμ' ὄνειδος. τ and ὄνειδος seems not to be used so in the singular 6 Bgk. ἢ κέν οἰδήσῃς, ἐπὶ τ' αἰγ' ἀμέλγων=: Bl. ὦ κέν οἰδήσῃς, ἐπὶ τᾷ τε λῶβῃ=: Bue. θῶμον οὐ δῆσαι+: MS ἐπιτ 7 καρδίαν Bl.: Bgk. Σκυρίαν=: MS 'αν'άσαιο or 'ανάσαιο: MS τογάρ: νόημα Bl. 8/9 MS prob. τοῦμον: τῶμον Bl.: MS ουκ': μαλάκως Bue.: Bgk. μαλάκοφρον ἐχθρῶς | τοῖς διάκῃται (subjunctive)—: Bue. πρὸς ὄργαν | τὰν διάκῃται (indicative)— 10 MS μῆδ' (not μῆδ) [The MS contains accents, stops, and marks of elision and crasis.]

Translation:

. . . Therefore not only dost thou hover about the notable rather than the good and noble, and biddest thy friends go about their business, but dost grieve me by saying in thy swelling pride that I am become a reproach to thee. Go to, glut thy heart with this thy insolence; for, as for me, my mind is not so softly disposed towards the anger of a child. Go thy way, nor . . .

Commentary:

2. ἐπτότει: the simple verb occurs Alc. *Fr.* 43 ποτέονται, and Sa. *Fr.* 41 ἐπ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότη. The uncontracted form here is no difficulty. It was obviously a matter of metrical convenience. Sappho uses both ἀλίω (*Fr.* 69) and ἀελίω (*Fr.* 79 and above), both ἴσος (2. 1) and ἴσος (*Fr.* 91), both ὠρανος and ὄρανος (see above). λάθειαι, l. 9 of our first fragment, would be a good parallel if it were certain. For ἐππ- cf. ἀπ πατέρων Alc. *Fr.* 104, and *Fr.* 19. 3, where ἐββᾶ is read by some for ἐμβᾶ. For the phrase cf. Sa. *Fr.* 68. 3:

ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κῆν Ἀῖδα δόμοις
φοιτάσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐππεποταμένα,
where the accepted ἐκπεποταμένα is meaningless.

4. λύπης: 2nd person of λύπημι.
- 5/6. φαῖς . . . οἰδήσῃς: participles.
7. νόημα: cf. *Fr.* 14.
8. παίδων: two syllables as *Fr.* 95.
10. ὄρπε: i.e. ἔρπε, cf. ὄρπετον *Fr.* 40.

J. M. EDMONDS.

ON *τε* ETC., WITH VOCATIVES.

MONRO writes in his *Homeric Grammar*, § 164, as follows: 'Regarding the use of the Vocative in Homer, the chief point to be noticed is the curious one (common to Greek and Sanscrit) that when two persons are addressed, connected by *τε*, the second name is put in the Nominative (Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 28).' Cf. Thompson's *Greek Grammar*, § 152.

This rule is also observed by the Attic dramatists. I will set forth the instances known to me, without any pretension to making anything like a complete list.

I. Certain instances. Aesch. *Septem.* 70, Ἄρά τ' Ἑρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενῆς: 121, Πάλλας, ὃ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ: *Ag.* 508, νῦν χαίρε μὲν χθὼν χαίρε δ' ἡλίον φάος, ἵππατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἄναξ: Soph. *O.T.* 1398, ὃ τρεῖς κέλευθοι καὶ κεκρυμμένη νάπη δρυμός τε: *Ajax*, 862, ποταμοὶ θ' οἶδε: Aristoph. *Clouds*, 264, ὃ δέσποτ' ἄναξ λαμπρός τ' Αἰθέρ: 595, Φοῖβ' ἄναξ. . . ἡ τ' ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεός, αἰγίδος ἡνίοχος, πολιοῦχος Ἀθάνα: Eur. *Hipp.* 1128, ὃ ψάμαθοι πολυήτιδος ἀκτᾶς δρυμός τε¹: *H.F.* 1389, ὃ γαῖα Κάδμου πᾶς τε Θηβαῖος λεώς: *Iph. Aul.* 1136, ὃ πότνια μοῖρα καὶ τύχη δαίμων τ' ἐμός: *Phoen.* 1225, ὃ γῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατηλάται Κάδμου τε λαός. It is true that in nearly all these passages the first name or noun might be called a nominative, but no one would naturally suppose them to be anything but vocatives, nor is the rule affected even if they were nominatives. At *P.V.* 88 Aeschylus certainly begins with a nominative, ὃ δῖος αἰθέρ. . . παμμήτωρ τε γῆ (παμμήτωρ Med., παμμήτορ cet.; the editors hesitate between the two, but it is clear that the Medicean is right). In two passages, Aesch. *Suppl.* 23, ὃ πόλις, ὃ γῆ ἵππατοί τε θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Σωτήρ τρίτος: Soph. *Phil.* 1453, χαῖρ' ὃ μέλαθρον Νύμφαι τε καὶ κτύπος, we are to regard θεοὶ and Νύμφαι as already nominatives, Ζεὺς and κτύπος simply continuing the construction; otherwise indeed Ζεὺς and κτύπος would be strange.

II. Passages easily corrigible. Aesch. *Pers.* 629, Ἰῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρω, read βασιλεύς: Eur. *Hipp.* 1169, ὃ θεοὶ Πόσειδόν τε, read Ποσειδῶν.

¹ So the Aldine, rightly as I think.

III. Violations of the rule. In the dramatists I am aware of but one exception, Eur. *Frag.* 781, line 55 (Nauck), σὺ δ' ὃ πῦρ δέσποινα, Δῆμητρος κόρη, Ἥφαιστέ τε, and here the reading is not certain, though it is difficult indeed to see what else can be read. But the rule appears to have been too subtle for the Boeotian wit; Pindar, *Ol.* xiv. 13, ὃ πότνι' Ἀγλαΐα φιλησίμολπέ τ' Εὐφροσύνα Θαλία τε ἐρασίμολπε: *Pyth.* xi. 1, Σεμέλα μὲν ἀγνῶτις (-τι?) Ἰνώ τε ὁμοθάλαμε. It is observed in frag. adesp. 140 (Bergk), Κλωθὴ Λάχεσις τε.

If two adjectives are connected by *τε*, the second remains in the vocative. Ar. *Thesm.* 315, Ζεῦ μεγαλύνουμε χρυσολῦρα τε: *Knights*, 561, ὃ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνον Φορμίωνί τε φίλι τε. Soph. *Phil.* 1445, ὃ φθέγμα ποθεινὸν ἐμοὶ πέμψας χρόνιός τε φανείς is evidently no exception to this, though χρόνιε would also be possible; cf. Eur. *Tro.* 1221, σὺ τ' ὃ ποτ' οὔσα μήτηρ.

If the second person addressed be introduced by the words σὺ τε, we of course continue with a vocative, though apparently σὺ itself is to be regarded as nominative; e.g. Ar. *Clouds*, 359; *Thesm.* 322; Eur. *Tro.* 1221, 1269; *Helen*, 1097. At Aesch. *Septem*, 124, σὺ τ' Ἄρης, one would expect Ἄρες, but it may well enough be a poetical variation.

Armed with this information let us now turn back to Homer. Leaf on *Γ* 276 expresses himself with much doubt about the rule, inclining to think that the change in that passage from Ζεῦ πάτερ to Ἡελίός τε may after all be decided by the scansion. After contemplating the evidence from later poets, I hardly think it is possible to hesitate any longer. If we confine our view to Homer we may indeed well agree with Leaf, for this seems to be the only instance where the MSS. present a certain nominative with *τε*, whereas in four places they give the vocative. P 669, Μηριόνη τε, read Μηριόνης: Ψ 493, Αἴαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε, Αἴας Ἰδομενεὺς τε, Cobet, *metri gratia*: τ 406, γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς θυγατέρ τε, θυγάτηρ, Monro: and finally Θ 185, Ξάνθε τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε, an atrocious line, which puts at once

dubious grammar into Hector's mouth and four horses into his chariot. However, no doubt it is quite ancient enough, and if Pindar was content with that construction, 'what shall hinder' the author of the Homeric line or passage in question 'from being as pliable as Pindar'? But I feel convinced that the genuine Homeric grammar requires a nominative.

Unfortunately in the great majority of instances the nominative and vocative are indistinguishable; Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ and endless other such phrases would, however, clearly be felt by at any rate most of the classical poets as a vocative followed by a nominative.

I believe that τε is never used to connect two persons addressed in prose; the particle is always καί. At what date the sense of the correct idiom with τε was lost by the poets it were vain to speculate, but certainly by the time of the forgery of the prelude to the so-called Orphic Hymns it was completely ignored. I hope the present headmaster of Shrewsbury will graciously accept the emendation εὐγενής τε παῖς for εἰγενής τε παῖ in the first line of his Porson prize verses for 1861.

In his note on τ 406, Monro seems to attempt an explanation of the peculiarity by saying: 'So in Sanscrit, and doubtless in the original language, the voc. cannot be *part* of a sentence in any respect.' I confess I cannot understand this; does he mean that in Ζεῦ, δός the vocative stands outside the sentence, whereas in Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοί, δότε, the words ἄλλοι τε θεοί are somehow part of the sentence? Will not Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ then come under the same head? But, as I will shew directly, Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ would both be vocatives. The thing seems to me a mystery, and it may be wiser to be content with stating the facts. In the same note he also says: 'The voc. is never used with a conjunction such as τε or δέ.' This is loosely expressed, and must be taken to mean that when two persons or things are addressed, being connected by a conjunction such as τε or δέ, the second ought not to be in the vocative. For two adjectives in the vocative may be connected by τε, as we have seen, or by δέ, as ὦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα πολλὰ δ' αὔ

σόφη γύναι (*Agam.* 1266), where I presume that no one will dream of asserting σόφη to be nominative. I do not make these remarks out of a desire to pick obvious holes in the work of a sagacious and admirable scholar to whom I owe so much, but rather because that note puzzled me and set me on pursuing the subject further to details perhaps trifling and even platitudinous; 'in tenui labor' truly.

The fact then is that two persons or things are never addressed in the same sentence by two nouns connected by δέ. And the reason is that δέ is too adversative in its nature. We may well say ὦ τάλαινα μὲν σόφη δέ, but who could think of saying ὦ Πρίαμε Κασσάνδρα δέ? Vocative nouns with δέ do, however, occur very rarely in a beautiful idiom of which I only know two instances, one the lovely line Ὑπν' δδύνas ἀδαῖς Ὑπνε δ' ἀλγέων (*Soph. Phil.* 827) and the other Ὅσια πότνα θεῶν Ὅσια δέ (*Eur. Bac.* 370). Of course, Ἀτρείδα, σὺν δέ and the like are plentiful, but there δέ always introduces a new sentence. We can however use such phrases as ὦ φίλτατον μὲν ἡμαρ ἡδιστος δ' ἀνὴρ, *Soph. Phil.* 530, for is not ἡμαρ here vocative? If so, the change to nom. with δέ is exactly like that with τε. Cf. *Eur. Med.* 1071.

When two vocatives are connected by καί, the common rule is that they remain vocative, and the second does not change to the nominative. Homer, Ζ 77, Αἰνεία τε καὶ Ἑκτορ, cf. Β 371, etc.: *Soph. O.T.* 380, 1394: *Ar. Ach.* 55: *Wasps*, 136, 401, 433: *Thesm.* 320: *Plut.* 81: *Eur. Ion*, 465: *El.* 1177, frag. 938: *Plato, Gorg.* 458c: *Lach.* 180D, 186A: *Euthyd.* 274D; *Lucian, Timon*, 42. Therefore, in the ridiculous invocation of Aeschines, *Ctes.* § 260, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἡλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις, we must read σύνεσι. Pindar, *Ol.* xi. 3, ὦ Μοῖσ', ἀλλὰ σὺν καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀλάθεια Διὸς ἐρύκετον is not an exception, for σὺν καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐρύκετον would be impossible. Cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 775, *Eur. Ion*, 465, and καὶ Κύπρις ἄλευσον at *Septem*, 127. ἰὼ δίκαια καὶ θεῶν παλίστροφος πότμος at *H.F.* 739 may be rather an exclamation in the nominative than a vocative.

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE RATE OF SAILING OF WAR-SHIPS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

IN the article on the 'Fleet of Xerxes,' which Mr. W. W. Tarn contributed to the *Hellenic Journal* of November, 1908, speaking of the voyage of the Persian fleet from Therma to the Sepiad strand, he says: 'The fleet together moves from Therme to somewhere near C. Sepias in one day (7. 183), perhaps 120 miles. Dr. Grundy has defended this: but it seems a wild impossibility.' In a note attached to the passage Mr. Tarn says there is little real evidence of the pace of triremes: that single ship voyages afford no criterion, because the pace of the fleet is determined by that of its slowest member.

Mr. Tarn may disbelieve the ancient evidence; but he has made no attempt to prove its incorrectness. I do not profess to have a complete knowledge of that evidence, but it may be interesting to quote certain items relating to the Fifth Century which I have come across in the course of my reading.

Thucydides (ii. 97) says that a voyage from Abdera to the mouth of the Ister 'can be made by a merchant vessel, if the wind is favourable the whole way, at the quickest in four days and as many nights.'

The total distance for a vessel which kept in sight of land from the Bosphoros to the Ister would be 597 miles, of which over 50 would have to be made against the strong currents of the Hellespont and Bosphoros. Thucydides, himself a resident in the parts Thraceward, may be presumed to have known what he was talking about when he made this assertion. It will be seen that the rate of sailing works out at about 150 miles for the twenty-four hours, or $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour; and this for a merchant vessel, a class of ship notoriously much slower than the warships of the same period.

Another noticeable point is that it is not assumed that a voyage of this length need be confined to the hours of daylight.

In iii. 3 Thucydides says that 'a messenger from Athens . . . crossed to Euboea and went on foot to Geraestos: there he found a merchant vessel just about to sail: he took ship, and arriving at Mytilene on the third day after he left Athens, announced the coming of the Athenian fleet.' Assuming that he took $2\frac{1}{2}$

days for the whole journey, the voyage from Geraestos to Mytilene cannot have occupied much more than one day, for by whatever route he went to Euboea his journey thither and the walk on foot to Geraestos can hardly have been accomplished in less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ days. If so, his sea journey works out at 6 miles an hour.

In iii. 49 Thucydides describes how a trireme sent with an urgent message to Mytilene all but overtook another trireme, which had 24 hours' start of it. He tells us that the first did not hurry on a disagreeable errand. Let us suppose that it travelled slower than a merchantman, and made only 5 miles an hour. The total distance from Piraeus to Mytilene is about 210 miles. The first trireme would, under this hypothesis, have taken 42 hours to accomplish the distance. The second trireme, therefore, cannot have taken much over 18 hours to accomplish the distance of 210 miles; that is to say, if we assume a very slow rate of progression for the first trireme.

In iv. 49 Thucydides says that the voyage from Thasos to Amphipolis is 'about half a day's sail.' Let it be conceded that he means the somewhat shorter distance to Eion. From the town of Thasos to Eion is about 50 miles. By half a day he means half of twelve hours, for when he includes a night in a calculation of distance he says so. The rate implied is therefore about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. He is evidently speaking in general terms of the distance, not in terms of his own voyage. In this case, again, the length of time required would be well known to him from personal experience.

In vi. 1 Thucydides says that the voyage round Sicily for a merchant vessel is 'not much less than eight days.' Here again he says nothing of night-voyaging. The distance is about 510 miles. That works out at about 64 miles a day, or about $5\frac{1}{3}$ miles an hour, supposing always that the putting in at night and out in the morning were not included in the twelve hours a day.

I think that these statistics are sufficient to show that there is nothing 'wildly impossible' in the acceptance of Herodotus' statement

with regard to the voyage of the Persian fleet from Therma to the Sepiad strand. The actual statement made is as follows (Herodotus vii. 183): 'Sailing throughout a whole day they accomplished the voyage (from Therma) to Sepias in the Magnesian country and the shore which lies between the city of Kasthanaea and the Sepiad cape.' The statement is quite a general one. It would be gratuitous to assume that a critical reader must interpret it as meaning that the *whole* of the Persian fleet accomplished the whole distance within the daylight of a Greek summer's day.

What Herodotus is chiefly concerned with, and that which he obviously has in his mind is the fighting portion of the Persian fleet. But Mr. Tarn makes a curious mistake, which tends to upset his calculations. He says that the distance to be traversed was 'perhaps 120 miles.' How far a voyage of 'perhaps 120 miles' would have taken the Persian fleet I really cannot say, but one of an actual 120 miles in the direction in which it was going would have brought it into the North Euripus opposite to Artemision. But Herodotus says it went to the Sepiad strand, which he asserts to have been between Kasthanaea and Cape Sepias; and it is with Herodotus' assertion that Mr. Tarn is concerned. The site of Kasthanaea is uncertain.

It was probably near Meliboea. But if we concede somewhat, and assume that that part of the shore of Magnesia which, lying north of Cape Sepias and nearest to it, affords facilities for putting in, is the Sepiad strand of Herodotus, then the distance from Therma is 90, not 'perhaps 120' miles. It was of the utmost importance that the Persian fleet should get past the harbourless stretch of coast between Therma and the Euripus in as short a time as possible, the more so as it is a lee shore to the dangerous winds (N.E.) of the North Aegean. They could start in a fairly good light at 4 a.m. at the time of year. They would certainly not loiter by the way. Taking Thucydides' calculation of the rate of travel from Thasos to Amphipolis, which is over 8 miles an hour, the warships could have accomplished the distance in 11 hours, *i.e.* by 3 p.m. on the afternoon of the same day, whereas from the data also furnished by Thucydides the transports would have required from 15 to 18 hours to accomplish the distance.

I confess I do not understand where the 'wild impossibility' comes in, except in reference to the 'perhaps 120 miles' applied to an easily ascertainable distance of 90.

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TERENCE, *ANDRIA* V. iv. 37-8 (940-1).

CH. At scrupulus mi etiam unus restat
qui me male habet. PA. dignus
es:

cum tua religione, odium, nodum in
scirpo quaeris. CR. Quid istud
est?

So Mr. Tyrrell's Oxford edition prints the text of this passage. The scholia recognize a v.l. *odio* for *odium*.

I submit that Pamphilus' sentence as it is given in the text is barely Latin, for the words *dignus es* are hardly capable of explanation; and that there are parallel passages in Terence which will lead us to an almost certain reconstruction of the corrupted idiom.

(1) *cum tua religione* is not classical Latin for *qua es religione*. Can it be justified by the idiom of comedy? I think not. See Appendix below.

(2) *dignus es*. The scholiast suggests *dignus es qui male habeatis* for an explanation. The nearest approach I can find in Terence is *Eun.* 1088.

GN. hunc comedendum vobis propino et
deridendum. CH. placet.

PH. dignus est.

or *Adelph.* 919

di tibi, Demea,

bene faciant quom te video nostrae familiae
tam ex animo factum velle. DE. dignos
arbitror.

But, even allowing that Pamphilus means *dignus es qui male habearis*, we are still left with no meaning for *cum tua religione*.

(3) Now a comparison of the following examples shews the legitimate and constant use of these *cum* phrases in Terence. They appear to correspond with a λαβὼν or συλλαβὼν in Greek, though I do not find an instance in the Menander fragments.

Ad. 713.

DEM. defessus sum ambulando : ut, Syre,
te *cum tua*

monstratione magnus perdat Iuppiter !

Hec. 134.

at te di deaque faxint *cum isto odio*,
Laches ! (faxint Bentley : perduint
codd.).

Phorm. 930.

in' hinc malam rem *cum istac magnificentia* !

Andr. 317.

abin' hinc in malam rem *cum suspicione*
istac, scelus !

The *cum* phrase belongs to imprecations ; and an imprecation is just what Pamphilus' temper (look at the impatience in *odium* !) would otherwise make us expect.

And one more quotation from Terence gives us the very model for our reconstruction—*cum* phrase in imprecation, and use of *dignus*. It is *Eun.* 651.

PH. Quid festinas ? aut quem quaeris,
Pythias ?

PY. ehem, Phaedria, ego quem quaeram !
in 'hinc quo dignu's *cum donis tuis*
tam lepidis !

The conclusion hardly requires to be stated ; the words *qui me male habet*, needless to the sense, are corrupt. In their stead Terence must have written something like

CH. At scrupulus mi etiam unus restat . . .

PA. in' malam rem, ubi dignus es
(or *quo dignus es* or *ut dignus es*)
cum tua religione, odium ! nodum in scirpo
quaeris.

(For the omission of *in* with such phrases as *ire malam crucem*, one can instance both from Plautus and Terence : e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 536, *Phorm.* 368, Plaut. *Poen.* 496, *Men.* 328.)

I do not pretend that the emendation is verbally certain, only that the text can be restored upon an ascertained *type* of sentence : e.g. one might also read either of the alternatives above suggested : *ut* for *habet* (= ht) is palaeographically easy.

Then the exclamatory *odium* would be attached to the *nodum in scirpo* sentence.

APPENDIX.

M. Fabia in his admirable edition of *Eunuchus*, at l. 153,

Egon quicquam *cum istis factis* tibi respondeam ?

makes *cum istis factis* 'equivalent to a causal proposition,' cites our *Andria* passage as another instance, and adds as illustrations :

Phorm. 465.

(i.) multimodis *cum istoc animo* es vituperandus.

(ii.) Plautus *Miles*.

Quid ? Ego hic astabo tantioper *cum hac forma et factis frustra* ?

(iii.) *Eun.* 353.

Quis is est tam potens *cum tanto munere hoc* ?

Of these (iii.) is a true ablative of accompaniment, not qualification ; and so no parallel.

(i.) needs only to be written *quom istoc animo* es, vituperandu's, and the anomaly disappears.

In (ii.) the Vetus Camerarii reads *quom* for *cum* ; and, for *frustra*, *sit frustram* ; another v.l. is *si sic frustram*. But here, too, even if the reading be sound, the meaning is 'beauty and exploits and all.'

These instances disposed of, there remains only *Eun.* 153.

Egon quicquam *cum istis factis* tibi respondeam ?

The remedy here is not far to seek : egon quicquam *istiscæ factis* tibi respondeam, or (since Terence sometimes postpones *ne* for emphasis, e.g. *Phorm.* 518, 612) ego quicquam *istiscine factis*. . . .

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ON JUVENAL I. 157 AND TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XV. 44.

IN the first satire Juvenal illustrates his complaint that the times are out of joint by the introduction of sundry pictures and personages which confront him in the streets of Rome. The persons belong largely to the age of Nero; and suggest to some extent at any rate vivid personal recollection. The ruthless favourite of that emperor, Tigellinus, the rich freedmen Pallas and Licinus, the energetic official Ti. Claudius Alexander, the female poisoner Lucusta, were all upon the scene during Nero's reign, and in the passage i. 157 it may be supposed that we have an allusion to the 'living torches' of Nero (see Dürre, *Die zeitgeschichtlichen Beziehungen in den Satiren Juvenals*, p. 6). The story of the tortures inflicted on the Christians by Nero is well known, how, amongst other torments, some were condemned to be burnt at the stake in such a way that by a refinement of cruelty their flaming bodies served to give light at night. Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44, 'et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis connecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi aut *flammando*, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.' In this passage I venture to read *flammando* 'by being set on fire,' which is nearer to the untranslatable *flammandi* of the MSS. than Nipperdey's *flammati*; and gives the same meaning as the parallel expression of Sulpicius Severus, *hist.* ii. 29, 'flamma usti.'

The horror of the thing, those sufferers clad in the flaming pitchy shirt of little ease (*tunica molesta*), did not go unnoticed by Seneca, who enumerates it among the devices of the torturer (*ep.* 14. 5, 'illam tunicam alimentis ignium et illitam et textam'); and who refers to it in the sarcastic words, which read like a satire on the motive alleged time without number by torturers in the interest of religion (*cons. ad Marciam*, 10. 6, 'alios ignibus peruret vel in poenam admotis vel in remedium'). Similarly he speaks of bodies planted in the ground and burnt (*de ira*, iii. 3. 6, 'circumdati defossis corporibus ignes'); and when he declares that the good conscience of the virtuous man is the one stand-by which does not desert him at the moment of such torment, it is scarcely

fanciful to suppose that the philosopher was thinking of the Christians and their creed, which had so much in common with his own stoicism (*de. ben.* iv. 21. 6, 'quid nunc mihi prodest bona voluntas? prodest et in eculeo, prodest et in igne. qui si singulis membris admoveatur et paullatim vivum corpus circumbeat, licet ipsum cor plenum bona conscientia stillet: placebit illi ignis, per quem bona fides collucebit'). See also Pliny, *paneg.* 33. I think it more than probable that in the passage in question Juvenal is registering a similar reminiscence.

Therefore in the new edition of my Oxford text I read

Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
ut latum media sulcum dent lucis harena.

The reading *ut sulcum dent lucis* was suggested to me primarily by the difficulty of explaining *sulcum* here as 'a furrow,' to which I drew attention *C. R.* xi. 401; where following Maguire I interpreted *sulcus* as a 'streak of light': cp. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 697, Lucan, v. 527, to which passages I now add Sil. Ital. i. 357, 'sulcutum tremula secant aera flamma'; xv. 141, 'ardenti radiare per aera sulco.' Some few years ago Mr. John Jackson, who attended my lectures, influenced no doubt by the above consideration, cleverly proposed, in a college dissertation, to read *ut sulcum des lucis*. This bold method of dealing with the text had been in part anticipated by the conjecture *et sulcum dant lucis*, cited as due to 'adolescens quidam' by Dobree, *Adversaria*, ii. 387, mentioned in Mayor's additional note, and by Jahn wrongly ascribed to Dobree himself.

Judged palaeographically *dētlucis* = *dent lucis* is simple. The meaning will then be: 'If you portray Tigellinus, you will blaze among those faggots, where the wretches burn erect fastened by the chest, that they may provide a broad gleam of light in the middle of the sand.' This seems to me more effective than to make the poet say, 'and they provide, etc.' (Dobree), or 'that you may provide, etc.' (Jackson), because Juvenal thus states in the first line what the outspoken satirist has to expect, burning at the

stake; and in the relative sentence contained in the two following lines he amplifies with characteristic irony the grim utilitarian purpose which the victims were made to serve, the final clause *ut dent*, etc., being closely parallel to the language of Tacitus, where the purpose is conveyed by the words *in usum nocturnis luminis*. I may be permitted

to add that I am glad to find that my conjecture has been approved by so able a critic as Dr. Julius Ziehen in a review of my second edition in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* f. kl. *Philologie*, Nov. 20, 1908.

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VARIA.

1. Plato Rep. i. 331 A.

γλυκεῖα οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλλοισα γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ ἐλπίς, ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνῶμαν κυβερνᾷ.

Davies and Vaughan translate πολύστροφον by 'capricious'; Jowett by 'eager'; and Liddell and Scott by 'versatile.'

The word means 'much-turning,' and the picture is surely that of a ship whirled about among dangerous eddies and guided into safety by the helmsman's skill.

Cephalus is quoting a psalm of comfort for the aged whose hearts are torn to and fro (πολύστροφον) by fears of death (θνατῶν contains a point) until hope steers them into the haven of resignation.

In 328 B has it been pointed out that Thrasy-machus' presence is explained by a natural desire to see the procession of his compatriots? His native town, Kalchedon, was in Bithynia, and the Bithynians were a Thracian stock.

2. Juvenal 15. 145.

Atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti.

This is the reading of p and w. Duff after Bücheler has *pariendis*. Dr. Leeper, apparently reading *capiendis*, translates: 'fitted to practise and understand the arts of life.' This I suspect to be the sense, but why has corruption arisen? If we assume that the original ran *exercendis sapiendis* the source of error is obvious. P found an unintelligible *apiendis*, gave it up and recorded only *iendis*; whereas p and w 'corrected' to *capiendis*.

For *sapere*, with other than general objects, = understand cp. Cic. Div. 1. 58. 132. The antithesis is between artists, poets, orators, (*qui exercent*) and their public (*qui sapiunt*).

3. Horace Epist. 1. 16. 30.

cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine?

Schütz (followed by Wilkins) holds that ne = nonne. But this is to overlook the stress on *tuo* by separation from *nomine*. The sense is: in allowing yourself to be called wise . . . are you answering to *your* name or some one else's? As if *utrum tuo an alieno respondes nomine?*

We may conjecture that the young soldier at roll-call, like the young student, was wont to answer to other names than his own in order to save a defaulting comrade. Horace says: when the name *sapiens emendatusque* is called, and you cry 'Adsum,' are you answering to your own name?

4. Vergil Aen. vi. 452-454.

ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

The construction of *qui* is so harsh that it seems better to read *quis*, cp. vi. 568 and *passim*. The 's' has dropped out by haplography.

5. Vergil Aen. vi. 567.

Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri . . .

Page has long ago exploded the ὕστερον πρότερον hypothesis, but it might be pointed out that Conington's interpretation entails the further assumption that '*dolos* seems to be put generally for crime.' By *dolos* are meant the evasive accounts to which the torturer listens. He is not, however, so easily deceived, and forces confession of the whole truth.

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REVIEWS

SANDYS' HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

A History of Classical Scholarship. By J. E. SANDYS. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. Two vols. 8vo. Pp. xxviii + 498; xiii + 523. 61 portraits. 8s. 6d. each.

WITH the publication of these two stately volumes, extending from the Renaissance to the present day, there is brought to a close the first *complete* survey of classical scholarship extant in any language. Works of so comprehensive a range, for the record here unfolded covers a period of more than 2500 years, have hitherto been 'made in Germany,' and on this account alone the author is to be congratulated for having broken the time-honoured spell. The first volume, published in 1903,¹ appeared in a second edition in 1906, and closed with the name of Dante. In the meantime the author had issued his *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning* (1905), an appetising 'gustatio' for the richly-laden banquet to follow.

The second volume opens with an account of the Revival of Learning in Italy and of Italian scholarship down to the sixteenth century (pp. 1-156). Passing by a few pages devoted to Spain and Portugal, which of all the countries of Europe have been least fertile in classical scholars, France is taken up from 1360-1600 (pp. 165-218), then England (pp. 219-250) and Germany (pp. 251-273) for the same period. A similar arrangement obtains for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Italy (pp. 280-282, 373-384), France (pp. 283-299, 384-398), the Netherlands (pp. 300-352, 441-466), England (pp. 352-358, 401-439) and Germany (pp. 359-370). The third volume treats of German scholarship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 1-273), the nearly 300 philologists being, however, distributed according to the subject-matter dealt with, to wit, editors of Latin or Greek classics, archaeologists, etc., a division apparently conducive to synoptical clearness,

but involving some inappropriate inclusions and necessitating at times the discussion of the work of the same man in widely separate places. It is here, too, that the author has often mentioned living scholars, whereas we are told in the preface that he purposed doing so only in a very few cases, such as Weil and Comparetti, 'where complete silence would have been unnatural,' but I submit that on such a plea a goodly number of illustrious philologists of Europe, happily still living, ought in justice to have been also included. The rest of the volume is taken up with the scholars of other nationalities—Italy (pp. 241-247), France (pp. 248-273), Holland (pp. 275-291), Belgium (pp. 292-309), Scandinavia (pp. 311-352), Greece and Russia (pp. 353-392), England (pp. 393-449) and the United States (pp. 450-470). The work closes with a brief retrospect (pp. 471-476) over the entire field covered in the three volumes, followed by addenda, including ten scholars who passed away while the book was in press.

Of the more than 1200 classical scholars recorded in the volumes before us, Germany leads with more than 400 names, 'proximus, sed longo intervallo proximus' comes England with more than 200, Italy with over 180, France with 150 and Holland with nearly 100 names. The list is well-nigh exhaustive;² in fact, many writers are treated at greater or less length whom one would hardly expect to find here, but, owing to the extremely liberal interpretation which Dr. S. gives to the term 'classical scholarship,' he has been free to admit the Latin poets of modern times, authors like Chaucer, Rabelais, Macchiavelli, Ben Jonson, statesmen and publicists of classical proclivities and humanistic enthusiasts generally.

To marshal this vast amount of information in such a way as to avoid throughout the monotony of a biographical dictionary was perhaps an impossible task. By the insertion,

¹ Reviewed at length in this journal, vol. xviii. pp. 271-276, 316-321.

² Of omissions I note in particular Papebroch, J. A. Symonds, Johannes Schmidt, F. Dümmler.

however, of anecdotal details, human touches and countless other items of more or less relevancy, Dr. S. has succeeded in overcoming this all but insuperable difficulty to a large extent, and, in consequence, he has produced for the most part an eminently *readable* book. Five chronological tables, a complete list of *editiones principes*, more than sixty well-executed portraits with a scrupulously exact account of their provenience, a select bibliography,¹ and last, but not least, two indexes of subject-matter—one for each volume—greatly enhance the value and usefulness of this magnum opus. These indexes constitute quite a feature of the book, for, apart from their exhaustiveness, Dr. Sandys has, besides many items of interest, included under the names of the ancient authors² the most noted editions of their works from the *editio princeps* down to the present day. The expediency of two separate and elaborate indexes seems to me, however, open to question. The author and the publishers probably thought that vol. ii. could thus the more easily be sold separately, and for that reason presumably the volumes are not distinguished numerically on the cover. But I can hardly imagine on what grounds any reader even remotely interested in the subject would be willing to purchase a torso!

If we look to the execution of the work as a whole, it may be said without exaggeration that we have a survey that is absorbingly interesting and highly instructive, and, above all, exhaustive and accurate, qualities the more noteworthy because

Dr. S. had no *complete* records at his disposal, except for the Renaissance in Italy and for Germany, but even Bursian does not go beyond the year 1882. Errors of omission or commission and misprints are, considering the myriad details, astonishingly few and far between, and so rarely misleading that I prefer to communicate such as I have noticed to the author privately, lest their enumeration in this place convey the false impression of untrustworthiness, and thus do an injustice to a work which is an honour to English scholarship, and which will remain for many years to come one of the few indispensable books in the field of classical learning.¹

¹ A few trivial details, however, it will be well to point out here. Vol. ii. p. 71: For Sextus Pompeius read Sextus Pompeius *Festus*, or simply *Festus*. p. 114: For *Tabula Isiaca* (the same misprint occurs in the Index) read *Iliaca*. p. 209: No mention is made of Casaubon's famous and still useful dissertation, *De satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira*. p. 219: Richard de Bury and Petrarch were hardly 'kindred spirits.' p. 297: Mabillon's description of Magliabecchi as 'a walking museum and a living library' (*museum inambulans et viva quaedam bibliotheca*) is not original, but a literal translation of the compliment which Eunapios, *Vita Soph.* p. 456^a, paid to Longinus: βιβλιοθήκη τις ἣν ἐμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον, a fact which also escaped L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandl.* i. p. 21. p. 317: read 10 instead of '14 years later,' for Grotius died 1645. p. 328: The six letters of Bentley, published by Haupt, *Opusc.* iii. 89-107, are all addressed to Burman, not to Graevius. p. 441: P. Cornelius Severus is surely not 'the reputed author of the Aetna,' this ascription being a mere conjecture, found in a worthless Italian MS. On the same page Dr. S., following a long exploded notion, still attributes three Ps. Platonic dialogues (viz. Axiochus, Eryxias and *περὶ ἀρετῆς*) to Aeschines Socraticus. Vol. iii. p. 82: Bonnell's *Lexicon Quintil.* is fairly complete, but certainly in no sense 'admirable.' p. 164: Sauppe's library is now at Bryn Mawr College (Pa), not at Columbia Univ. p. 173: The words 'an edition of the Metaphysics of Aristotle and Theophrastus, with the ancient scholia,' are misleading, as the τὰ μετὰ τὰ φύσικα of the latter are preserved only in meagre fragments, while the scholia belong to the former only, being not very ancient at that. pp. 317 and 362: If Heracleides Ponticus (for Ps. Heracleitos) be retained, 'Pseudo' ought at least to have been prefixed, for the author of the Homeric Allegories was certainly very much later than his alleged namesake, the famous pupil of Plato and Aristotle. p. 409: Why Donaldson is styled 'the principal (?) author of a work on The Theatre of the Greeks' is not clear to me.

¹ Full bibliographical details are accumulated in the footnotes, but unfortunately these are too frequently so vague as to be of little use to one who hasn't access to a British Museum catalogue. Thus, to mention but one typical instance out of many: Vol. iii. p. 195⁷, we are told that a bibliography of Traube's writings was compiled by P. Lehmann. I fancy, there will be but few readers who will guess that the author refers to *Rendiconti della Reale accademia dei Lincei*, xvi. (1907), pp. 351-361, for the revised reprint in Traube's *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, i. (1909), pp. xlviii-lx, had not yet been published when the above note was written.

² Owing to an oversight, only two modern editions of Sallust are cited, the most important being omitted at that, though mentioned III. 200.

In view of the transcendent merits of this work, it may seem invidious, as well as captious, to draw attention to one defect which characterizes the volumes before us, but it is too conspicuous to be passed by in silence. I mean the deplorable lack of a proper proportion or perspective in the treatment of a very great number of scholars. In the first place, no system or consistent plan is discernible in the use of brevier and long-primer type. Over and over again philologists of decidedly mediocre achievements are given undue typographical prominence, while many famous scholars are as often undeservedly dismissed in a few lines of brevier type. This discrepancy would be partially explained by a conjecture, which I am somewhat reluctant to advance, even though it may seem warranted by the facts. The author appears to have been intent on making out as good a showing as possible for the philological activity of every nation throughout the various centuries. Where genuinely great scholars at any one period existed in abundance, their achievements could easily be allowed to speak for themselves, but where classical scholars of the first magnitude were sadly lacking, as is the case in Italy during the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, in France during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, in Belgium and Greece, and—'tis true 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true—also in the United States, Dr. S. unfortunately felt called upon to raise mediocrity to the n th power by giving to many an unjustifiable *spacial* prominence. Such a procedure undoubtedly does infinite credit to his cosmopolitan generosity and kindness of heart,¹ but it seems not quite compatible with the true function of an objective historian.

In order to substantiate so sweeping a charge, I append a list of names according to

¹ In the biographical portions the author also acts on the principle of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, grave faults of character and conduct being often either ignored, as e.g. in the case of Lenormant, or merely alluded to in passing. The only noteworthy exception is *Filelfo*, who is said to have 'combined the accomplishments of a scholar with the insidiousness and the brutality of a brigand,' but how few Renaissance scholars, if judged by their moral character, would 'escape a whipping'?

the space allotted to them, those printed in *italics* being grossly overrated, while those cited in ordinary type have not received the attention to which their well-known achievements in the field of classical learning unquestionably entitle them:

$\frac{3}{4}$ lines— $\frac{1}{3}$ page: Cuiacius, B. Rhenanus, Middleton, Borghiss, de Rossi, d. Fabretti, Heindorf, Westphal (3 lines!), A. Kuhn, Nipperdey (5 lines!), Ahrens (12 lines), Steinthal, Studemund (12 lines), U. Köhler (3 lines), P. Tannery (3 lines!), Traube.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p.— $\frac{2}{3}$ page: Melanchton, Camerarius, Perizonius, Valckenaer, Kaibel, L. Spengel, Kirchhoff.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p.—1 p.: Turnebus, *Dorat*, A. Johnston, *Strada*, Du Cange, Gronovius, *Dempster*, Prantl, Usener, Rohde, *Gantrelle*, *Nisard*, *Benoist*, *Graux*, *Waddington*, *Rayet*, Grote, Bücheler, Zeller.

pp. 1—1 $\frac{1}{2}$: *Nizolius*, D. Heinsius, L. Vossius, *Dupont*, *Barrow*, *Damm*, J. F. Christ, *Creuzer*, *Goethe*, *Lehrs*, *Nutzhorn*, *Cornelissen*, *Falster*.

pp. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ —2: *Sigonius*, *Macchiavelli*, *Lambinus*, *Vives*, *Salmasius*, *Downes*, *Bacon*, *Twining*, *Dawes*, *Montfaucon*, *Le Clerc*, *Lobeck*, A. Schäfer, *Gennadios*, *Kennedy*.

pp. 2—2 $\frac{1}{2}$: *Pomponius Laetus*, *Robertelli*, *Dolet*, *Rabelais* (2 pp. brevier), *Linaere*, *Lipsius*, *Selden*, *Parr*, *Jebb*, *Köchly*, L. Müller.

pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —3: *Ascham*, *Buchanan*, *Ritschl*, *Roersch*.

pp. 3—3 $\frac{1}{2}$: *Saville*, *Winckelmann*, *Willems*.

pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4: *Scaliger*, *Mabillon*, *Milton*, *Gesner*, *Niebuhr*, *Lachmann*.

pp. 5: *Casaubonus*, *Herder*, *Boeckh*.

pp. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$: *Lessing*, being exceeded only by *Petrarch*, *Bentley*, and F. A. Wolf!

This list—it might have been indefinitely augmented—in the mere juxtaposition of names speaks a sufficiently eloquent language, but one or two points may still be noted. I do not begrudge the *four* pages given up to the paleographer *Mabillon*, but if he be entitled to them, how can it be possibly justified that L. Traube is dismissed in eighteen lines of small type?! A full page in brevier is taken up with a synopsis of

Nutzhorn's *Die Entstehungsweise der homerischen Gedichte*. This book is mainly negative and polemical in character, and marks no real advance toward the solution of the problems in question. But granting that 'its patriotic spirit makes it (for our present purpose) a characteristic product of the scholarship of Denmark'—a very curious justification, by the way—how are we to account for the fact that *Kirchhoff's* epoch-making contribution to the Homeric question is only accorded four lines? Fully *three* pages are devoted to the Belgian *Willems*. His ponderous volumes on the Roman Senate certainly are a vast thesaurus of facts, but the conclusions which he draws from the documentary evidence are, as Mommsen has shown, extremely often hasty, fanciful, or due to misinterpretation. But if this work be deemed worthy of half a page of panegyric, what shall be said of the fact that the monumental *Staatsrecht* of Mommsen must be content with two lines?!

Belgium is accorded a separate chapter; the $17\frac{1}{2}$ pages (partly small print) are distributed among *eleven* scholars, and the account of their alleged achievements is throughout pitched in a highly eulogistic key, the author following all too complacently the fulsome biographies of national writers. In the case of *Roersch*, Dr. S. seems himself to have had some slight misgivings, for, after devoting three pages of large type to him, we are treated to the following apologetic epilogue: 'His administrative duties left him little leisure for any work on an extensive scale. But he was fully capable of producing works of far larger compass, any one of which might have ensured him a permanent place in the history of the scholarship of his country.' Surely this is to have greatness thrust upon you with a vengeance! If potential erudition, latent capacity and κτήματα ἐς αἰὲν, which were never composed, are to entitle a philologist to an extensive consideration in a history of classical scholarship, it is impossible to understand how Dr. S. succeeded in forcing so glorious a record into the Procrustean bed of two volumes! *Nève* is the author of an interesting but discursive work on the history of learning in Belgium, beginning with Erasmus(!), but omitting—incredibile dictu—J.

Lipsius! He is styled a man of considerable note—*two* pages are accorded to him, and yet his published work was chiefly confined to *oriental* languages and but incidentally touched on classical subjects! But if Belgium (since 1830), which did not produce a single classical scholar of first rank, is thus handsomely treated, and practically the same is true, as already remarked, of Scandinavia and of Greece, the space allotted to the classical scholarship of the United States (pp. 450–470) is—pudet dictu—simply ultra-generous and undeservedly flattering. So unpalatable a truth must here be the more emphasized, because coming from any other than an American source (for 'caelum, non animus mutant qui trans mare currunt') the motive for giving public utterance to it might be misconstrued, if not resented. Among the American philologists of the past there were certainly many men of profound erudition and general culture, of singular personal charm, magnetic personalities, in fact, and brilliant teachers, who succeeded in instilling into their pupils not only an abiding love for the humanities, but also a deep affection for themselves, which repeatedly found outward expression in subsequently published biographical sketches. It was upon these that Dr. S. unfortunately mainly relied, but such *laudationes funebres* constitute no more unbiassed documents for the historian to-day than they did in the days of Cicero and Livy. Scholars like F. D. Allen, Merriam, Hayley and Earle, to judge by the publications which they have left behind them, would presumably have produced more works of a high order, had not a cruel fate cut them off in the prime of life. But the literary output of the others was almost without exception wholly devoid of originality, independence, imaginative insight and critical acumen. Anthon and A. W. Allen, Greenough and Lincoln and Harkness, Drisler and Short and Lewis, Felton and Hadley and Woolsey—to mention only these—were one and all skilful compilers of lucrative school editions and grammars and dictionaries, the frequently wholesale adaptation of the work of foreign scholars being usually indicated by the ominous semi-euphemism 'based on the

edition of so-and-so.' Not a single contribution marking genuine progress, no work on an extensive scale, opening up a new perspective or breaking entirely new ground, nothing, in fact, of the slightest scientific value can be placed to their credit.¹ Unquestionably the most valuable legacy of these scholars is not to be sought in their books (some of them, indeed, published but little), but in the goodly number of brilliant pupils still living, 'qui olim nominabuntur, nunc intelleguntur,' so that some future edition of this work or some future Sandys will not be open to the criticism of a candid reviewer of

¹ The Greek Lexicon of Sophocles and the work of C. Beck, 'the Petronian scholar,' are only apparent exceptions, for both of these Harvard professors were born and educated abroad. Nor can Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age* be exempted, except in the eyes of loving friends. Whitney, the only philologist of genius whom America has produced in the past, was unfortunately in no proper sense a classical scholar.

having grossly exaggerated the achievements of the United States in the field of classical scholarship.

But regret, as one must, that a glaring inequality of treatment, a lack of discriminating appraisal or proper evaluation is too conspicuously in evidence in these volumes, the incontrovertible fact remains, as remarked at the outset, that we now possess, thanks to the profound learning and the indefatigable labour of one man, as exhaustive a record of the representatives of classical scholarship and their works as one could desire. There cannot be the slightest doubt that these volumes will pass through several editions in the near future, and that the distinction of being translated into a number of foreign tongues will also be accorded to them in due time.

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THE ROMAN LAW OF SLAVERY.

The Roman Law of Slavery. By W. W. BUCKLAND, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1908. Pp. xii + 735.

THIS work, as its sub-title indicates, deals with the condition of the slave in private law from Augustus to Justinian, and is not concerned, except incidentally, with the freedman. The topic of slavery occupies a peculiar position in the modern study of Roman law. So long as the main interest was the application of Roman law as a living system, slavery was of no importance, because obsolete. But now that the interest is chiefly historical, it has become of the greatest moment to the student, since it permeates every department of the ancient law, of which it is, as our author with a little exaggeration observes, the most characteristic part. Hence while there was no need for it, there was no comprehensive treatise on this

topic as a whole, and since the change in point of view the want of such a treatise has been felt.

Mr. Buckland has supplied this want with a completeness that deserves the highest praise. We can say of his work what we can say of no other English work on Roman law, that it is the standard book, and will be necessary to the library of every one whose study of Roman law extends beyond the Institutes.

Part I. is logically arranged. After an interesting first chapter, in which the definition of slave is discussed, chapters ii. and iii. treat of the slave regarded as a chattel, chapters iv. and v. of his non-commercial relations, chapters vi. and vii. of his commercial relations apart from the peculium, chapters viii. and ix. of his commercial relations in connexion with the peculium, while the remaining chapters of this part are devoted to special cases such as those of the *servus vicarius*, *hereditarius*, *fugitivus* and many others.

The subject of Part II. is enslavement and manumission, and here an historical arrangement by periods has been adopted, with the result that a connected view of the various topics is not obtained: for instance, manumission *vindicta* must be hunted up in three places, pp. 441, 451, and 552. It might have been better to give an historical account of each of the modes of manumission one by one. Still the author is probably the best judge, as any one who has faced the actual difficulty of arranging a large mass of material will be ready to believe; and certainly the reader armed with the excellent table of contents and index will have no difficulty in finding his way to a given point. That after all is what matters with a work like the present, which is not to read continuously, but is chiefly for reference.

We could wish that we had been provided with a 'Quellenregister,' so that the author's interpretation of a hard passage in the Digest would have been as accessible as the comment of an English text-book on a decided case, but no doubt the number of passages discussed would have made the compilation of such an additional index a laborious task. With more justice we may complain that the modern punctuation of Digest references has not been adopted; it is a real source of delay to find for instance: D. 41. 1. 10. 3, 4, 19, 54. pr., instead of D. 41, 1, 10, 3, 4; 19; 54, pr.: see Girard, *Manuel*, pp. ix and x. There is no reason why Digest references should continue to be as bewildering as they have been in the past.

Apart from these superficial criticisms, we have nothing but praise for this extremely learned work, in which every point is discussed with a wealth of citations both of texts and literature. We only regret that it is beyond our power to do it full justice, but since to review it as a whole would require many months of study, the results of which would occupy several articles, we can only endeavour to give the reader some idea of its methods by presenting its treatment of one or two topics upon which we have had occasion to consult it.

The principle is well known that a *bona fide serviens*, whether a *liber homo* or a *servus alienus*, acquires for his supposed master *ex*

operis suis vel ex re ejus, but *extra duas istas causas* for himself or for his real master, as the case may be: *Gaius* 2, 92. But the application of the principle is naturally difficult: take, for example, the fragment of *Pomponius*, D. 41, 1, 21, which states as the opinion of *Proculus* that if my slave *bona fide tibi serviens* buys and takes *traditio* of a thing, it does not become mine because I am not in possession of the slave, nor does it become yours unless the acquisition is *ex re tua*. Inconsistently it is admitted that if the acquisition were not *ex re*, the *liber homo b. f. serviens* would acquire for himself in such a case. Now one might puzzle for some time over the opinion which denies that a *servus alienus b. f. serviens* does not acquire for his real owner by taking a *traditio* outside the two *causae* (*ex re vel ex operis*), but Mr. Buckland (p. 341) at once goes to the root of the matter by pointing out that the text rests on the notion that acquisition by *traditio* depends on the passing of possession, whereas, in fact, acquisition by *traditio* does not involve acquisition of possession. On this last difficult point we should have liked further enlightenment, but with characteristic avoidance of side-issues the author simply refers us to *Salkowski*, *Sklavenerwerb*, and *Appleton*, *Propriété Prétorienne*. We have not pursued the subject.

In a neighbouring passage, D. 41, 1, 19, *Pomponius* raises a well-known crux, that the acquisition by a *liber homo b. f. mihi serviens* of an *hereditas jussu meo* involves on his part at least the act of *aditio*, though the great preponderance of opinion is that such an acquisition is not *ex operis*, nor indeed *ex re*. But the rejected opinion is still considered worthy of mention by *Aristo* and *Pomponius*, and had agitated the republican lawyer *Varro Lucullus*, and also *Trebatius*, whom Mr. Buckland overlooks. The point at issue is really the conception of acquisition *ex operis*, of which, following *Salkowski*, our author takes a narrow view. 'It covers,' he says at p. 342, 'only the case of the slave hiring himself out or his service being in some way active for a third person for hire,' or as he puts the matter below, 'the opera involved in acquisition *ex operis* is not that expended in making the acquisition,

but that which is the consideration for the acquisition.' The main argument for this definition of *operae* appears to be the texts D. 7, 8, 12, 6; 14, pr., against which must be set Ulp. D. 7, 1, 23, 1: 'Quoniam autem diximus quod ex operis adquiritur ad fructuarium pertinere, sciendum est etiam cogendum eum operari.' Without having seen Salkowski's argument, we think that this central point might have been considered at greater length, but at any rate under such a conception of acquisition ex operis it is quite clear that *aditio* of an *hereditas* does not fall.

Julian, D. 29, 2, 45, pr., quoted by Mr. Buckland, expressly says '*Aditio hereditatis non est in opera servili*,' and therefore that a *servus fructuarius* cannot make *aditio* by order of the usufructuary. Yet he goes on to state as a possible opinion that a *liber homo bona fide mihi serviens*, who has been instituted *heres propter me*, and makes *aditio jussu meo*, acquires thereby for me. This is not the prevalent view, and the ground on which Julian puts it is interesting: '*ut intellegatur non opera sua mihi adquirere, sed ex re mea, sicut in stipulando et per traditionem accipiendo ex re mea mihi adquirat*.' If we are to have a narrow conception of '*ex operis*,' we must widen our views of '*ex re*.'

Now it is clear from these texts that a narrow conception of '*ex operis*' was by no means universal, and Salkowski accounts for the discrepancy of opinion by supposing a development of the principle of acquisition ex re out of acquisition ex operis, a process which incidentally narrowed down the earlier wide conception of *operae*. Mr. Buckland is more cautious, and asks what is the reason for saying that '*ex re*' is the later development. This leads to an interesting reference to the ultimate ground of acquisition for the *bona fide possessor*, into which we cannot enter.

We hope we have given the reader an idea of the sort of help he will get by consulting

this work. Our impression is that not only will he find the fullest references of every kind, but also a thoroughly fundamental discussion of ultimate principles. On the other hand, the book is quite unsuitable for general reading, in spite of its length its style is usually compressed, even too much so, and above all the author assumes that the reader has the texts before him. Hence he does not tell his own story, and we have to turn up the text before we can appreciate his argument. We do not say this by way of criticism, but merely to advertise the character of the work.

Some chapters are, of course, more readable than others: thus in Part I. we recommend the introductory chapter and chapter 9 on the *peculium*. Part II. enjoys the advantage of a more dramatic subject, and any one interested in legal antiquities will be fascinated by the learning and good sense with which the forms of *manumission* are discussed. We observe that, like the majority of Romanists, Mr. Buckland rejects Karlowa's view that *manumission vindicta* was not in origin an *in jure cessio*, and he makes a strong case (p. 451). On p. 446 he returns to the subject of the informal *manumissions* with which he has dealt more fully in a recent article, *Nouvelle Revue Historique*, 1908, p. 234; in a general way he agrees with Wlassak's conclusion that they were not absolutely free from form, but he shows that in a real sense they were informal.

We leave with regret these and other topics (see especially the Appendices) which Mr. Buckland handles with complete mastery. His whole work shows a rare combination of patient research and grasp of detail, with breadth of view and command of principle, and is certainly the most important work on Roman private law that has appeared in this country, with the possible exception of Mr. Roby's two volumes.

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THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. SMITH, M.A., and W. D. ROSS, M.A. Part I. *The Parva Naturalia.* Part II. *De Lineis Insecabilibus.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Two vols. Vol. I. 3s. 6d.; Vol. II. 2s. 6d.

THESE, the first instalments of the new Oxford translation of Aristotle, promise well for the usefulness and success of the enterprise. In Prof. J. I. Beare of Dublin, who has done the larger part of the work in the first volume, the editors have secured the co-operation of one who is not only an experienced scholar but a recognised expert in all that pertains to ancient Greek psychology. And the translations of the minor sections (*de long. et brev. vitae, de iuv. et senect., de vita et morte, de respiratione*) contributed by Mr. G. R. T. Ross, while of a less testing and difficult character, are done with adequate skill and care.

In the preface written by the general editors which accompanies the volumes the plan and principles of the series are thus indicated: 'The translations make no claim to finality, but aim at being such as a scholar might construct in preparation for a critical edition and commentary. The translation will not presuppose any critical reconstitution of the text. Wherever new readings are proposed the fact will be indicated, but notes justificatory of conjectural emendations or defensive of novel interpretations will, where admitted, be reduced to the smallest compass. The editors, while retaining a general right of revision and annotation, will leave the responsibility for each translation to its author, whose name will in all cases be given.'

Fortunately the editors have seen fit to allow to Prof. Beare and to Mr. H. H. Joachim, the translator of Part II., considerable latitude as regards the addition of notes on questions of text and interpretation. Both in the *de sensu* and its fellows and in the *de lin. insec.* there occur quite a long list of places where the editor finds himself in straits between 'the devil' of nonsense and the 'deep sea'

of purely conjectural restoration. Did space permit, one might produce a number of instances in which both Mr. Joachim and Prof. Beare have resisted the devil and made him flee—at least for a short season—by adopting the heroic alteration, ὥσπερ οἱ κυβιστῶντες καὶ εἰς ὀρθὸν τὰ σκέλη περιφερόμενοι! And since the next best thing to making sense of one's author is the convicting him of writing unintelligible nonsense, one may freely commend the work of both these scholars as excellent examples both of critical acumen and of reconstructive skill. Another point about the method of translation may be noticed: words or phrases not in the Greek but necessary or useful for the elucidation of the meaning are inserted in the body of the translation enclosed in square brackets; and when the page is so richly be-bracketed, as not a few of these are, the effect is unpleasing. Part I. is furnished with an index, but, for some unexplained reason, Part II. is not. The books are well produced, and about the only material error I have noticed is in the footnote (1) on 457a, where λήθαργος apparently ought to be ληθάργους.

R. G. BURY.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. SMITH, M.A., and W. D. ROSS, M.A. Vol. VIII. *Metaphysica*, by W. D. ROSS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 8vo.

UNLIKE the *Ethics*, which has often attracted the pen of the ready writer of notes or versions, the *Metaphysics* has received but scant attention. Nor indeed is the work of translating it a work to be lightly undertaken. The successful interpreter of a treatise often so obscure and difficult, always so dry and bald in style, cannot safely indulge—however pressing the temptation—in even occasional lapses into dormitation: he must leave that luxury for his author. The translation now before us, judging from considerable portions which I have examined with some care, is wholly, or almost wholly, free from such lapses. It is not only reliable in point

of accuracy, it possesses the further merit of simplicity and clearness, and reproduces well such virtues—they are not many—as can be claimed for the style of the original. The text adopted is, in the main, that of W. Christ (1895), and where Mr. Ross departs from this—as he does pretty often—the fact is signified in the notes. With regard to these notes, however, there is one general criticism I venture to make. Would it not be more clear and satisfactory to the reader if the authority for the lection adopted were stated in all cases? Often the change indicated is simply a reversion to the MS. tradition which Christ had discarded, but sometimes it is the adoption of a new conjecture; and at the expense of a very little extra space the student using the book might have been informed of the precise facts on each occasion. For this fault of method, as it seems to me, the blame rests, perhaps, rather with the general editors, who pursue a policy of rigid Laconism, than with the particular translator. Brevity is sometimes the soul less of wit than obscurity; and obscurity we find in several of Mr. Ross's notes. For example: '985^b 18 read τὸ δὲ Ξ τοῦ Η θέσει. Cf. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, i. 568': the change is excellent, but are we to understand that Gomperz is the originator? Again, how is a reader with Christ's text only before him to understand the note '988^b 28-29 read τῶ γῆν (?) . . . τῶ ῥαδίως. Cf. I. Bywater in *J. of Ph.* xxviii. 246.'

Apart from this one complaint, there is little fault to find with the book: it is (in spite of γῆν) well printed and furnished with a useful short analysis and a carefully compiled index. Mr. Ross deserves to be warmly thanked for the pains he has bestowed on his lengthy task, and complimented also on the skill and scholarship with which he has brought it to so successful a completion.

R. G. B.

Divisiones quae vulgo dicuntur Aristoteleae.

Ed. H. MUTSCHMANN. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xlii + 76.

THE 'Aristotelian Divisions' here printed are drawn from Diog. Laert. iii. 80-109 and from the Codex Marcianus 257. The

arrangement adopted by Mr. Mutschmann is to print first the 32 'divisions' of Diogenes, with the corresponding divisions of the Codex in parallel columns, and then to print afterwards in order the remaining divisions of the Codex, of which there are 69 in all. In the Preface, the editor gives us a sketch of the history of δίκησεις as a logical method in Plato, Aristotle and the earlier Peripatetic school, with other matters pertaining to the question of origins, his conclusion being that 'divisionum nostrarum maiorem partem e vetere Academia' et Peripato fluxisse.' At the foot of the text the editor prints not only critical notes but also—and this is a specially useful feature of the book—the pertinent *testimonia*, i.e. references to the parallels in Plato, Aristotle, etc. In addition to the earlier work at the text done by Cobet and V. Rose, the editor has had the advantage of consulting with Sudhaus and Wendland, whose names appear frequently in the foot-notes, and the result is decidedly good. Not that all doubtful points are finally settled; but most of these are likely to remain always in doubt, unless fresh evidence should be forthcoming. My remarks on matters of detail must be brief: D.L. 2, the notion of ἐρωτική φιλία might be illustrated from Xenophon. D.L. 5, Mutschmann's ἔργον, for θετόν of codd., is better than Cobet's θεατόν or Wendland's τέλος, and probably right. D.L. 8, it would seem more scientific to insert <καὶ ἀπολογίως> before rather than after καὶ κατηγορίας, and after καὶ εἰς (just above) perhaps κρίσεις might be inserted more plausibly than δικάστηρων. D.L. 11, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νόμους κτλ.; Wendland conj. περὶ for πρὸς, Mutsch. κατά, but read perhaps τὰ δὲ πρὸς <ὀφέλειαν οἶον> νόμος κτλ. (comparing the Marcian parallel). D.L. 13, the ed. after Sudhaus reads ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῦ . . . μὴ [ἐξίστασθαι] τρεῖν, the MSS. having μὴ ἐξ. ποιεῖν: Cobet deleted ποιεῖν, and Wendland conj. ποίῳ in place of it; more probable might be τόπου or τόπων. D.L. 19, for the 4th species a ref. should be added to the famous def. in the *Sophist*. Cod. M. 15, νόμοις φαύλοις καὶ μετρίοις: it is unlikely that μετρίοις stands for μοχθηροῖς, as the ed. suggests; read

perhaps ἀμέτροις or ἀλλοτρίοις. Cod. M. 6; if, as Sudhaus plausibly suggests, ἐχθρα is a blunder for καχεξία, we must transpose and write οἶον <καχεξία> νόσος κτλ. Cod. M. 30; read perhaps τὸ δὲ λέγειν <ὅτι> 'οὗτος ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς λόγος', ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἐστὶ γὰρ πρᾶγμα κτλ. Cod. M. 41, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀταξία κτλ.: rather than change ἀκολασία to ἀταξία twice, and add ἀταξία the third time,—as the editor proposes,—I should prefer to excise ἀκολασία twice. Cod. M. 42, the restoration proposed by the editor,—ὡς τὰ πολιτικά ἢ ἀνομοίως for ἡ τὰ π. ἢ ἀνόμοια,—has much probability, but why did he not go further and change the next ἡ to καί, to correspond with the other sentence-endings?

R. G. B.

Aristotelis de Animalibus Historia. Textum recognovit L. DITTMAYER. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xxvi + 467.

Textstudien zur Tiergeschichte des Aristoteles. Von GUNNAR RUDBERG. Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1908. Pp. xxvi + 107.

It is safe to say that the new Teubner text marks a considerable advance in the study of the 'History of Animals.' The latest and best of previous editions was that of Aubert and Wimmer, of which Mr. Dittmeyer speaks in eulogistic terms, and to which, as his footnotes show, he is largely indebted; but, as regards their use of the manuscripts, Aubert and Wimmer were open to the criticism that 'criticis eorum ad-

notationibus non omnino fides haberi potest.' We may trust that in this respect the Teubner edition will prove reliable; and the editor claims that he records 'codicum A^aC^a (i.e. the representatives of the best family) omnes lectiones varias.'

Mr. Rudberg's 'Textstudien,' however, make it pretty certain that even the new Teubner text is not to be regarded as final. Mr. Rudberg deals mainly with William of Moerbeke's translation of the *Hist. An.*, giving a transcription of William's rendering of Book I. with the manuscript variants. He examines William's language and method of translation, and investigates the relation in which his Latin stands to the various Greek manuscripts. And finally he draws certain conclusions regarding the genealogy of the sources for the text—a problem which Dittmeyer, in his 'praefatio,' leaves untouched. Mr. Rudberg postulates an archetype, as representative of the first period of the text's history; as representative of the second period, he assumes the two archetypes which were the immediate sources of the two main families generally recognized (viz. A^a etc., and P etc.); close to this second period he places x, the source of William's Latin translation; and in the third period falls the division into the two families A^a, P. Whether these broader conclusions win acceptance or not (and they seem to require further proof), this careful study of William's style and value should prove indispensable to future investigators of the text of Aristotle. R. G. B.

CICERO'S ORATORY IN RELATION TO HIS RHETORICAL STUDIES.

1. *De M. Tulli Ciceronis Studiis Rhetoricis* thesim Facultati Litterarum Universitatis Parisiensis proponebat L. LAURAND. Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1907. 8vo. Pp. xx, 116. Fr. 3.
2. *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cicéron, avec une Esquisse de l'Histoire du 'Cursus,'* Par L. LAURAND. Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}. 1907. 8vo. Pp. xxxix, 388. Fr. 7.50.

THESE two books, taken together, give an interesting and able estimate of Cicero as

a student of rhetoric and as a master of oratorical style.

The topics discussed in the Latin thesis are as follows:

I. What value did Cicero set upon the art of rhetoric? The conclusion reached is that he did not, as has sometimes been supposed, depreciate studies of this kind, but simply maintained that they must be conjoined with natural gifts, practice, and a well-stored mind.

II. What did he owe to 'the ancients'—to Plato, Isocrates, the disciples of Isocrates, Aristotle, and the earlier Peripatetics (Theophrastus especially)? The general answer to these questions is sought in Cicero's own avowal, 'ego me saepe nova videri dicere intellego, cum pervetera dicam, sed inaudita plerisque' (Cic. *Or.* 3, 12), while the warning is added that we must not assume him always, or even often, to have gone direct to the original sources.

III. What did he owe to authorities nearer his own time,—to Hermagoras,—to Asiatic and Rhodian rhetoricians,—to Stoic, Academic, and Latin writers? The answer suggested is that he drew his material more freely from recent than from ancient teachers.

IV. What did he himself contribute to the art of rhetoric, and how far did his opinions undergo modification? M. Laurand holds that Cicero was no slavish follower of the text-books he used, but that his true self appears not only in the style of his rhetorical writings, but in the stress which they lay on appeals to the sense of mirth and to the emotions generally, in the importance attached to the popular verdict as helping to determine the rank of an orator, and in the broad view taken of the general training which an orator needs. And as for modification, it would be strange indeed if his views did not change and develop during the thirty or forty years, spent in the practice of oratory, which separate the 'De Inventione' from the 'De Oratore,' the 'Brutus,' and the 'Orator.'

It is this practice of oratory which forms Cicero's chief distinction. Among all the ancient writers on rhetoric, he was by far the greatest speaker. Accordingly, in the French *Études* which accompany the Latin dissertation, he is studied in relation to the style of his published speeches. The result is highly interesting and instructive. Cicero is here seen at his best, whether the topic under discussion is the purity of his language (in regard to choice of words or to grammar), or his oratorical rhythm, or the variety of his style. M. Laurand pays much attention to a point superficially so trivial, but really so characteristic, as the end-rhythms of the Ciceronian sentence.

Alike from his theory in the *Orator*, and from his actual practice in his speeches, it is clear that Cicero had his favourite endings (particularly the dichoreus, e.g. *persolutas, comprobavit*; and the cretic, e.g. *curiam, [de]cernitur*). Following in the wake of Zielinski and other inquirers, M. Laurand marshals under this heading a large number of facts, which he discusses with much acumen and independence. He is quite alive to the vagueness, vacillation, and inconsistency by which modern analyses of the Ciceronian clausulae have often been marked; but he has no difficulty in showing that definite principles, or at all events preferences, are involved, and that there is a real accord between the precepts of the *Orator* and the practice of the speeches. He also subjoins an interesting appendix on the 'cursus,' or those regular cadences which mark the end of phrases (or members of phrases) in Latin prose from the classical period to the time of the Renaissance.

In pp. 284–295 Cicero's 'temperatus' (as applied to style) might perhaps have been compared with *εὐκράτος*, which (and not *κοινός*) is given by the Florentine manuscript in chapters 21 and 24 of Dionysius' treatise *De Compositione Verborum*. On p. 125 reference is made to the fact that while rhyme is pleasing to the modern ear in verse, it is displeasing in prose. It would, however, not be safe to assume that the ancients generally liked their prose to be loaded with those assonances (*ὁμοιοτέλευτα*) which are the forerunners of our modern rhyme. Cicero, no doubt, loved them, as his speeches clearly show. But would a Greek really have admired such a sentence as: 'Ubi sunt, C. Pansa, illae cohortationes pulcherrimae tuae, quibus a te excitatus senatus, inflammatus populus Romanus non solum audivit sed etiam didicit nihil esse homini Romano foedius servitute?' Here again Dionysius, in the same work, helps to give us the true point of view. Assonance is good, but not when it degenerates into jingle; when variety comes into conflict with monotony, variety must be preferred. Dionysius saw clearly that an inflected language, while rendering great freedom of word-order possible without any sacrifice of clearness, needs this variety

all the more because of the monotonous effect of its recurring case-terminations. Consequently he says (*de Comp. Verb.* c. 12), 'We must not hesitate to change the cases of nouns (since, if continued unduly, they greatly offend the ear), and we must constantly, in order to guard against satiety, break up the effect of sameness entailed by placing many nouns, or verbs, or other parts of speech in close succession.' On this ground, Dionysius would have condemned the collocation, 'excitatus senatus, inflammatus populus Romanus.' Very probably he would also have taken exception to the reiteration of *s* sound. 'Sigma,' he says,

'is a letter devoid of charm, disagreeable, and positively offensive when used to excess. A hiss seems a sound more suited to a brute beast than to a rational being. At all events, some of the ancients used it sparingly and guardedly. There are, indeed, cases in which entire odes have been composed without a sigma' (*de C. V.* c. 14).

While it is possible that M. Laurand's two volumes might occasionally have gained by being brought into still fuller relation with Greek literary theory, it is certain that their general execution shows great competence.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

OXFORD ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

Anthropology and the Classics. Six lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by ARTHUR J. EVANS, ANDREW LANG, GILBERT MURRAY, F. B. JEVONS, J. L. MYRES, W. WARDE FOWLER. Edited by R. R. MARETT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 8vo. Pp. 191. Twenty-two figures. 6s. net.

THE volume before us is of good omen. One might on verbal grounds suppose, as Mr. Marett remarks in his preface, that Anthropology and the Humanities were co-extensive, but in practice they have been widely sundered. The six lectures here published were given last Michaelmas Term at the instance of the Committee of Anthropology with the avowed object of bringing the two subjects together, of 'inducing classical scholars to study the lower culture as it bears upon the higher.'

Oxford may well be proud of the list of classical scholars who answer to the call of Anthropology; she could command authorities at first hand on well nigh every branch of the subject. Dr. Arthur Evans lectured on *The European Diffusion of Primitive Pictography and its Bearings on the Origin of Script*; Mr. Andrew Lang on *Homer and Anthropology*; Professor Gilbert Murray on *The Early Greek Epic*; Dr. Jevons on *Graeco-Italian Magic*; Professor Myres on

Herodotus and Anthropology, and Mr. Warde Fowler on *Lustratio*.

Instead of attempting to resume or criticise the varied contents of these lectures—a task manifestly impossible in brief space—we may be permitted to ask and answer the question: 'Does the volume before us approve the new venture?' Will the normal classical scholar or student laying it down feel that Anthropology can really illuminate the Classics, or is Anthropology only the last straw imposed on the already overburdened camel?

Take Mr. Warde Fowler's *Lustratio*. When a man reads

dum montibus umbrae
Lustrabunt convexa,

he needs no Anthropology to tell him that *lustrare* is a word of magical beauty; if he can feel anything in language he can feel *that*. But why is *lustrare* so moving, so stately, so religious? Just because it has in it two elements, the purgational, the processional. *Lustratio* is the slow perambulation, the 'beating of the bounds' to purge your newly won clearing from alien, hostile spirits. Anthropology gives back to a word—hackneyed for Cicero to the mere 'review' of an army—its primitive colour and atmosphere. Knowledge of this sort makes language worth learning and life worth living.

Herodotus and Anthropology simply teems with suggestion. Prof. Myres thinks so hard and so swiftly, he is so cogent, so alert and yet so intricate—mental states rarely combined—that he leaves reader and reviewer gasping. Frequently he convicts us, not only of ignorance, but of a certain torpor and slovenliness of thought. We imagined, for example, that we knew what φύσις and νόμος meant. But now the outlook of the ἀνθρωπολόγος of the fifth century B.C. is analysed and reconstructed anew. For lack of that imaginative effort we had not realized how modern is the embryology of Anaximander, how evolutionary was Archelaos. We had somehow forgotten that the medical school of Cos was but two hours' sail from Halicarnassus, and that the physiology and anthropology of Hippocrates was superior by far to anything that came after till the seventeenth century. The formula of Heracleitus, πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, spite of its application to metaphysics, had its origin in physical science as a generalization from experience. 'It emphasized the kinetic and physiological aspect of nature and of science, which has ever been of so far higher value, in research, as in life, than the static and morphological; it substituted an analysis of processes for classification of the qualities of things.' In this Heracleitos-phrase began the technical use of the twin terms, φύσις and νόμος; 'in their primitive sense they denote nothing else than precisely such natural processes in themselves, on the one hand, and man's formulation of such processes, on the other.' The italics are our own. Here is a sentence to brood over, and such sentences abound.

With Prof. Myres the hunt is always up, and if we want to catch his game we must hunt with him, and hunt hard. Prof. Murray labours for us long and strenuously, and gives us garnered sheaves, gives them so quietly

and simply that we may well forget the toil they cost. He takes kindly to Anthropology; it allows him a humorous touch on things apt to be canonical and pompous. Under this touch Hesiod's confused and laboured theogonies and orthodoxies grow human, even thrilling. Hesiod's 'κράτος τε βία τε' are to most of us dreary abstractions. Who but Prof. Murray (p. 74) would have seen behind them the *mana* of the medicine-king, that power at once tricky and tremendous.¹ 'There he is,' that medicine-king, 'the visible doer of all those things which later races have delegated to higher and more shadowy beings, walking palpably before you with his medicine and perhaps his pipe, his grand manner, his fits, and his terrific dress.' As to this matter, Prof. Murray lets drop at the end of his essay a tentative sentence that might well be expanded into a book, 'I suspect that the contrast between these medicine-chiefs and the Homeric gods is one of the cardinal differences between Hellenic and pre-Hellenic religion.'

We congratulate Oxford on a brilliant success. A book so vivid must needs be fruitful. Dry-as-dust himself, if he attended these lectures, must have given himself a shake and felt for the nonce—less dusty.

J. E. HARRISON.

¹ Prof. Murray's case for κεραυνός as the thunder-stone swallowed by Kronos is strengthened by the Hesiodic fragment preserved by Chrysippos (ap. Galen *de dogmat.* Hippocr. iii. 8, p. 320). Zeus is about to swallow Metis.

συμμάρψας δ', ὃ γε χερσὶν ἔηυ ἐγκάτθετο νηδὺν
δείσας μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο κεραινοῦ.

Cf. Soph. Oed. Rex, 200,

ὦ τᾶν πυρφόρων | ἀστραπῶν κράτη νέμων,

and finally Cornutus 10, p. 10, 13, τὸ δὲ κράτος ὃ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέχει, where κράτος = κεραυνός: see Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* 1901, p. 174.

THE LATELY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF MENANDER.

The Lately Discovered Fragments of Menander.

Edited with English Versions, Revised Text, and Critical and Explanatory Notes by UNUS MULTORUM. Oxford: James Parker, 1909.

THIS, seemingly the latest edition of the newly found fragments of Menander, ought, we think, to be hailed by Englishmen as a very substantial contribution to the literature, already considerable, of the subject. The editor, Lord Harberton, as is no secret, though his actual name is disguised under the enigmatic title *Unus Multorum*, is well known to Greek scholars by his volume of epigrams from the Greek Anthology, published by Mr. James Parker several years ago. Of the emendations and suggestions there offered, Stadtmüller, the lamented editor of the *Anthologia Graeca* in the smaller Teubner series, has made full use, but his premature death has unhappily interrupted the progress of that really monumental work, which in richness of information as to the MSS. and the large array of critics who have contributed to the correction and elucidation of the poems, leaves little or nothing to be desired. Besides his edition of the Greek Anthology, *Unus Multorum* has also published a collection of notes on Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.

The new fragments of Menander are in one sense disappointing. It is true that they contain portions of four distinct plays, and that large sections in each one of the four comprise long passages which are obviously continuous and only require supplementing here and there. The lacunae are sometimes very slight and not difficult to fill up. In such passages our new editor is at his best. His style of translation is easy and flowing, as free from pedantic literalness as from unscholarly looseness. This it is which may fairly be called the strong point of the book.

But there are whole scenes the location of which is quite uncertain, and which have been assigned by the first editor, Lefebvre, to one play, by his successors to another. Here van Leeuwen seems to be closely

followed by Harberton, and the coincidence of the two may generally be taken as based on sound, or at least not unpalatable grounds. But it is not impossible that a fresh examination of the MS. of the new fragments may lead to different and more permanent results than either Lefebvre or van Leeuwen can claim; just as in the case of the *Γεωργός* fragment Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt were able to arrive at a different arrangement of the verses by a new inspection of the MS.

In view of these uncertainties it is interesting to find *Unus Multorum* an enthusiast on the rather debateable question of the merits of the new Menandrian fragments in dramatic effectiveness and finish of style. I believe most of those who have read them confess to a feeling of disappointment, at any rate in comparison with the universal laudation accorded to Menander in antiquity. It may be said that this could not be otherwise, as even complete comedies, such as those of Terence or Plautus, abound in lines where the allusion is notwithstanding obscure; and in the new fragments of Menander, as in the earlier discovered fragments of the *Γεωργός*, not one of the four plays, the *Ἐπιτρέποντες*, *Περικειρομένη*, *Σαπία*, or *Ἡρώς* can be said to reveal its *argumentum*. This is particularly true in the case of the 'Woman with shorn locks' as *Unus Multorum* translates the famous comedy *περικειρομένη*. Still it is nothing remarkable to find in Lord Harberton an exception to the prevailing verdict, an exception stated with emphasis more than once, and obviously based not only on a most conscientious study of the new fragments, but on an enlarged familiarity with comedy and dramatic effect in general. So much, however, even he will not deny, that, among the finds which research has brought to light within the last twenty or thirty years, one at least, the *Mimes* of Herondas, presents views of ancient Greek life incomparably more vivid and, to most readers, far more interesting than any even of the continuous remains of the four Menandrian plays. These miniature works of mimetic art, where they have come to us unmutated

and whole, are perfect, indeed exquisite. I would specify in particular the κοτταλος, which I do not scruple to prefer to any of the comic scenes of Menander we at present possess. It might even, we think, be said that the new fragments bring into greater prominence not a little of the *weaker* side of his plays. I, of course, mean the taking up and repeating the words of a former speaker, which is done *ad nauseam*, and must have been a common artifice (if it deserves the name) of the Menandrian dialogue. This taking up and repeating the words of the former speaker must have been as tiresome as Lessing's trick (in his prose tragedy, *Emilia Galotti*) of breaking off sentence after sentence with an interrupting —.

It remains to speak of the emendatory side of our new editor's work. He has done a good deal in this way, and I should deprecate any sweeping assertion as to his merits or defects. Perhaps his suggestions may be said to be more plausible as Greek than successful as approaching closely to the MS. tradition, or even (at times) to the probabilities of metre. The safe rule of not introducing as an emendation anything which departs violently from the ordinary metrical observances of the writer is not always kept in view. Thus in 'Επιτρ. 264 the MS. gives at the end of an iambic line τήνδε παιδῆτις, which the new editor corrects τήν σὺν παῖδα δ' ἥτις ἦν, a rude severance of τήν from παῖδα, to which I have not noticed any parallel in the MS. In the following line he refers in defence of οἶσθας as Attic to his discussion on ἦσθας in 156. Considerable space is there devoted to the dicta of various grammarians or lexicographers on this question, which is one of no little importance in correcting the text of many similar passages, e.g. 325 where van Leeuwen with MS. gives οὐκ οἶδα. βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ON. οὐ γὰρ οἶσθ' ὅτι; Harborton

prefers οὐ γὰρ οἶσθας, οἶ, which some critics will think good and forcible. In 280 where the MS. gives at the end of a line ἡτισέσται βροτόνον, it may be a question whether ἐσθ' Ἀβροτόνιον, a diminutive found elsewhere in Menander, is not more probable than ἐστίν, Ἀβρότονον, though the latter reading seems to be more favoured by editors.

Metrically improbable are the following: Epitr. 410 ὀνέκραγε τήν κεφαλὴν ἅμα πατάξας σφοδρά. Περικ. 39 αἰτεῖ τί βούλεθ'. ὁ μὲν κατὰ σχολὴν ἔρειν. 114 τήν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν ἄρα με δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, unless this is a misprint for νῦν ἄρα δεῖ με προσκυνεῖν. 257 λάβη τι τούτων· οὐ γὰρ ἔωρα κέναι ποτε.

Ingenious and at any rate notable are the following: Epitr. 340 τεγεατικὸν for τογαστικόν of MS., and the explanation drawn from Diog. Laertius, 6. 61 'the woman has all the cunning of a street walker.' It is, however, a little far-fetched. Περικ. 337 τυιγαροῦν ἀπάγξομαι. But in Samia 18 εἶναι τυγχάνει the infinitival construction of τυγχάνει is not supported by the MS. and seems unjustifiable.

On the whole this English edition will hold its place among the similar issues of the new fragments in foreign countries. Lord Harborton does not seem to have seen the clever and original criticism of the eminent Cambridge scholar, whose loss we all deplore, Mr. Walter Headlam, although his little volume was among the earliest published on the four comedies. We are still in want of a *complete* edition, one which should embody the views and suggestions of a crowd of scholars whom the fame of Menander naturally drew to the task of explaining or supplementing the comedies immediately after their first publication by Lefebvre.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

PLAN OF ROME.

Roma prima di Sisto V.: la pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577, riprodotta dall' esemplare-esistente nel Museo Britannico per cura e con introduzione di FRANCESCO EHRLÉ, d.C.d.G., Prefetto della Biblioteca Vaticana. Danesi, 1908. Sm. folio in portfolio. 70 pp. text, one folding map 1 x 0.820 m. 15 lire (12s.).

THE object of the present publication is set forth by Father Ehrle in his preface. His intention is mainly to assist historical students, 'very many of whom, in dealing with the various historical problems of the period after the Renaissance and the Reformation, often feel the necessity of clearing up some topographical question connected with the continual and extensive transformation of Rome, eternal, despite all changes.' It is by no means the first of sixteenth-century engraved plans of Rome to be reproduced; but, owing to its extreme rarity, it has hitherto escaped the attention of students. The British Museum copy is, indeed, the only known example of the original edition: of the second (of 1640) one is in Paris, another in the collection of the present writer; while a copy of the third (of 1646) was found by Father Ehrle in a private collection.

In each of the last two editions the dedication has been changed, and the plan brought, to a certain extent only, up to date, by retouching the plates so as to show the modifications which had taken place in Rome in the interval. But the original plan of 1577 is rightly considered by Father Ehrle to be the best and clearest representation that we have of Rome before the transformations that a great part of it underwent at the hands of Sixtus V., and a fac-simile reproduction of it will thus be of the greatest use to students, not only of history, but of the classical and Renaissance topography of Rome, which are so intimately connected with one another.

The introduction has an interest of its own: it is the first attempt at a coherent account of the authors of this plan and of its modifications, and of the various hands through which these and similar plates

passed, from the middle of the sixteenth century till the present day.

Both Du Pérac and Lafréry are otherwise well known to us. The former appears both as draughtsman and engraver of several plates of archaeological and architectural interest, and especially of a large plan of ancient Rome (reconstructed) dedicated to Charles IX. of France in 1574 (the plates are still in existence at the Government engraving depot in Rome¹; Father Ehrle's statement to the contrary (p. 24) rests on an error of Ovidi, *La Calcografia Romana*, Rome, 1905, p. 24), and of a very important collection of views of ancient Rome of 1575. The latter was, between 1544 and 1577 (*circa*), the most important printer and publisher of engravings in Rome, and most of Du Pérac's work was issued by him. His master appears to have been a certain Antonio Salamanca of Milan, whose activity belongs mainly to the period from 1538 to 1549, and with whom he entered into partnership in 1553, soon becoming, however, the predominant member of the firm, and largely increasing his activity. A little after 1572, indeed, he published a catalogue of his stock, which Father Ehrle reproduces in full from the unique copy preserved in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence. The list contains 112 geographical and topographical engravings (maps, views of cities and fortresses and a few battles), 79 engravings of Roman antiquities, 19 important Renaissance works of art, 72 mythological and historical prints, 174 religious subjects, 26 portraits, and 20 illustrated books. The inventory of his goods, made shortly after his death in 1577, is unluckily missing, though it seems to have been in its place in the archives until a few years back.

But the catalogue in question gives a good idea of his activity and enterprise. At a date which cannot be precisely fixed, but probably towards the end of his life, he began to form a collection of his most important archaeological plates, giving to it the title of *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*; but no copy of this collection has an index or an original

¹ *Catalogo delle Stampe . . . della Regia Calcografia*, No. 1439.

numbering of the plates, which are in fact differently arranged and chosen in every copy known. There are, too, very few copies to which later issues of the same plates, or plates issued for the first time by Lafréry's successors, have not been added.¹ For the plates were handed down through a series of vendors and publishers of engravings, of whom Father Ehrle gives most interesting particulars, most of whom added plates of their own, right down to the end of the eighteenth century; while, despite the fact that in 1799 the French Republican Government sent 1158 copperplates to the mint to

¹ To the earlier copies mentioned by Father Ehrle I may add one in my own collection, from the Destailleurs Library, which contains very few plates dating after the death of Lafréry, while, as it has been rebound, they may well have been added separately.

be coined into money, some of the plates exist to the present day.

There is not space to follow Father Ehrle's careful and conscientious introduction further; but it is a most important contribution to the study of a little known and fascinating subject, while the appendix contains unpublished documents and inventories bearing on it. To the present writer, who has for some time contemplated the publication of a *catalogue raisonné* of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, this book affords an indispensable foundation for the work, and at the same time an encouragement to proceed. Father Ehrle, by continuing the publication of other important plans of Rome, will render a very great service to students.

THOMAS ASHBY.

PHAROS.

Pharos Antike, Islam, und Occident. Von HERMANN THIERSCH. Teubner.

SELDOM has even the great house of Teubner issued a more splendid and exhaustive monograph than this. The author indeed modestly tells us that on some points he is writing at second hand, and that further researches are required by specialists. That may be so, but it will be hard to find readers who will desire to go more deeply into the question of the tower industry of the whole human race. For such this volume proves to be. It is divided into three parts and an appendix of independent value. The first gives all that can be known about the great Alexandrine lighthouse, with all the Arabic information about its history till its complete ruin by earthquake in the thirteenth century. The evidence not only of writers (which is very scanty) but of coins, Pompeian wall pictures, illuminated MSS., is brought in to help the author to his reconstruction of this wonder of the world. He corrects earlier essays, especially that of Adler, and produces a consistent and splendid result in his picture of the Pharos, which was a great quadrilateral base (each side a plethron) and the height

two plethra, then an octagonal building of half that height, then a round building in the same decreasing proportion, with a fire signal of wood and pitch at the top, and probably a mirror facing seawards to intensify the light. The whole thing was about 105 metres high. The reader must consult the volume for ample details and justifications of the author's views.

Then follows a long chapter on the use made of this lighthouse by the Arabs, whose *minaret* is derived from *manara*, a fire-tower, for they established a little chapel for prayer in the topmost storey, and from this came the fashion, at least in Egypt, North Africa, and the West, of setting up minarets of a form always recalling the great original at Alexandria.

But the minaret of this kind does not include the whole genus. It appears that the earliest towers used for the call to prayer were those of Christian churches at Damascus and elsewhere in Syria, square towers from which the call to prayer was given by beating the *semantron*, or board of dry wood, which is used to-day in some of the ruder and wilder monasteries on Mount Athos.

The Mohammedans substituted the musical

call of the human voice, the Christians in due time the sound of bells.

The third part shows how the Egyptian minaret, carried all along the coast of Africa and into Spain by the Saracens, was from the great mosque of Cordova, and other such minarets, the suggestive model of Christian church towers, of which there is a whole army (as there is of minarets) reproduced in the illustrations which crowd the pages of this noble volume. In fact, only the square Norman church towers of England and the Round towers of Ireland seem to have escaped from the influence, direct or indirect, of the three superposed structures of the Pharos.

The appendix contains the author's researches in the ruins of Taposiris Magna, near Alexandria, to the west, where there are the remains of a smaller lighthouse of the same character. The present notice confines itself to a mere summary of a book full of interesting details and various learning, and refrains from any criticism which would only affect small details, and occupy more place than it is worth. The main duty of the reviewer is to recommend to all lovers of antiquity, or of the Middle Ages, either in Asia or Europe, to acquire and read this fascinating work.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

BRITISH MUSEUM MARBLES.

Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum. By W. R. LETHABY. I. Diana's Temple at Ephesus. II. The Tomb of Mausolus. London: B. T. Batsford, 94 High Holborn, 1908. Two vols. 9½" x 6". Pp. 1-36; 37-70. 2s. net each.

PROF. LETHABY has entered the Greek field by the publication of two pamphlets each devoted to the study of a great building of which nearly all the actual stones are in the British Museum.

In each case the fragments are taken as the principal facts beyond question; what past author or explorer has woven around these facts is briefly but clearly stated and criticised with a view to a definite result; and the pamphlet closes with a description of statuary and detail.

That we should expect delightful style as well as penetration and insight in the discussion of the fragments goes without saying, but we get more; the theoretic conclusions are reached with a clearness, conciseness, almost a dryness of statement which leaves one with the impression that little more remains to be said.

A theory of reconstruction forms an important part of each study. In the case of Ephesus Prof. Lethaby begins by stating

the main facts of Wood's discovery, the work of the Austrian Institute and Mr. Hogarth's excavations, and he passes on to a criticism of Dr. Murray's reconstruction of the fragments of the later temple in the Museum, and his theory of the form of the temple from these fragments.

Without stating Dr. Murray's case, which may be seen in the Museum, we pass to Prof. Lethaby's, briefly, as follows:

(1) The temple was raised on a high platform of steps which was carried all round it, probably equidistant on all sides from the order and conditioned by the foundations which Wood discovered.

(2) The sculptured pedestals and sculptured drums were used separately as bases to columns, the former at the outer end-rows,¹ the latter at the inner end-rows and the pairs between the antae, thus giving the '36 sculptured columns' of Pliny without any duplication, and avoiding the over-drawn-out columns of the fronts with the awkward arrangement of steps behind them of the Museum restoration, not paralleled by any other example in Greek art.

(3) The temple had an 'architrave order' (so characterised by Choisy) or entablature consisting of architrave and dentil-cornice, but no frieze.

¹ Also at one return column on each flank.

To our mind there is no doubt that Prof. Lethaby's case for the reconstruction is fully proved. The result—and this is the important fact—gives us a much finer and better-proportioned temple than the one illustrated in Mr. Cromar Watt's drawing in the Museum.

In discussing the details of the Order Prof. Lethaby says (p. 19), 'With the plinth the height of the [column] base is two thirds of a diameter, a fair proportion; but without it, it is impossibly low.' It should be borne in mind that this refers only to Asiatic work. At Athens, where square members are omitted from Ionic bases, we find that those of the Erechtheum North portico, for example, are less than half a diameter in height.

There are some good remarks on the somewhat early form of the Ephesus caps (with their large egg and tongue carvings having no relation to the flutings beneath) compared to the more developed Mausoleum and Priene examples.

Dr. Murray's restoration of dentils in the raking cornice is criticised, and Priene is cited, where the raking bed-mould is less in 'depth' [height?] so as to lighten the raking cornice generally. This also would be right, aesthetically.

The few pages devoted to the sculpture are really constructive. Two fine free sketches of the sculptured drums are given shewing certain figures completed. It seems instinctively sound judgement to parallel these sculptures with the work of the Praxitelean school.

Let us hope that the suggestion for a proper setting of fragment 1239 will not fall to the ground.

In the notes on methods of workmanship there is a timely remark about the freedom of the Ephesus work. There is apparently much departure from exact symmetrical precision in the details of Greek work, and this applies even in the best Athenian buildings.

There is one remark about the overall size of the temple which does not seem quite clear. 'Pliny says that it was of the enormous and impossible size of 425 feet by 220 feet' (p. 2); but might this not refer to

the extreme sizes of the platform steps? Wood's calculation of the platform in English feet is 418' 1" by 239' 4½".

At Ephesus, our conception of the architectural scheme is nearly assured. In the case of the Mausoleum it is not so. In his second study Prof. Lethaby carefully discusses all the known restorations, on paper, of this great wonder, and then, wisely perhaps, puts forward no certain scheme of his own except a 'rejected restoration' (p. 55), one that he would like to have seen and at one time thought possible, but which he was forced to reject as lacking in simplicity. The keynote of his own conjectural reasoning may be found on p. 57, where he says 'the basis of the true design seems to be the tumulus developed, consisting of a basement, a pyramid, and a trophy. It may best be compared with the Cnidus monument; . . . The marvel must have consisted in setting over a temple-like structure a pyramid hanging high in the air.'

The general criticism of the methods of former restorers on pp. 54 and 55 is very sound, but is too long to quote here.

The method of discussing the actual form of the monument is quite admirable. It is based on a careful description of 'the evidence of the stones themselves' and thus arrives at the most original part of the study, a discovery of some certain evidence of ratio of length to width in the pyramid, and the number and spacing of the columns (pp. 45-48).

Five different restorations are illustrated and discussed. It is pointed out that these fall into two types of plan, the large plan type with a single row of surrounding columns, and the small plan type with a double row.

The small type is finally (p. 56) rejected altogether, and Adler's restoration, illustrated on p. 49, singled out as the 'best general view of the monument which has been produced.'

The arguments in favour of simplicity seem thoroughly sound. However pleasing may be Oldfield's restoration (accepted by Prof. Gardner in his *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*) and the author's more excellent

'rejected restoration,' there appears to be no real evidence for them. This is clearly shewn.

In calling attention to the use that has been repeatedly made of 'Pullan's faulty measurements,' Prof. Lethaby fully admits his own indebtedness to the admirable survey of the fragments in the Museum made by the students of the Royal College of Art, under Prof. Pite.

The penetrating remarks on the frieze do full justice to its excellence, though it is placed below the Parthenon. The remarks also about colour are very much to the point. One must conceive of these great monuments as covered with colour, but 'harmonised and softened into waxy texture and hues.'

As is here shewn, there was an 'architrave order' at the Mausoleum also. In the notes on construction we learn that the pyramid steps had rolls or fillets at the back and two ends, which would throw the water away from the actual joints, a practical subtlety which is thoroughly Greek. The author says with special regard to the mitre joints which make the work resemble marble joinery rather than masonry, 'the whole out-

look is very advanced and even doubtful'; but in the best Athenian period we see mitre joints used for marble work.

The praise of Pythios the sculptor-architect, responsible also for the temple at Priene, is well-deserved, and the quotation from Vitruvius at the close is delightful in the gravity of its large outlook.

The volumes are well illustrated by plans, line-illustrations of architectural detail, and fine suggestive sketches of carving and sculpture. They are pleasant to handle, of good paper with wide margins and large print. The proof-reading has been careful, and we came across no printer's errors. The pagination is continued straight through to facilitate future binding. Altogether these are most notable booklets, and when the series is complete¹ it should form one of the most suggestive contributions to the practical study of Greek architecture in certain aspects, that has ever been produced.

THEODORE FYFE.

¹Since this was written, the third study of the series, on the Parthenon, has appeared. A fourth and final part will appear later.

ANCIENT ITALY.

Ancient Italy. By ETTORE PAIS. The University of Chicago Press, and Unwin, London.

THE title of this work hardly conveys a just idea of its contents. It is a miscellaneous collection of papers, bearing mainly on the history of the Greek settlements in Italy, Sicily, and even Sardinia. The amount of matter which is connected with the author's 'Storia di Sicilia' is larger than that which is cognate with the 'Storia di Roma,' and the former portion appears to me to be the more valuable. But in this short notice I can only touch on one or two articles particularly.

Like all the work of Prof. Pais, these essays are interesting and even fascinating when read rapidly and uncritically. But when the

processes are probed and the results are brought face to face with the evidence, the colours often fade, and chaos takes the place of plausible coherence. The first paper on 'Ausonia and the Ausonians' seeks to show that these two titles were applied in ancient times, and properly applied, to a much larger part of the land and inhabitants of Italy than has commonly been supposed. Material is selected from the warring pronouncements of ancient writers concerning the prehistory of Italy, and is wrought into a skilful mosaic in support of the theory. The unpractised reader will not guess the extent to which the process is a 'periculosae plenum opus aleae.' The ancient writers have to be taken on trust. There is no discussion of their intrinsic value as authorities; nor any

reference to publications in which such discussion may be found. The essay requires us to believe that fragments of a genuine tradition concerning the state of Italy in times a good deal older than the Trojan war are to be found in writers from Herodotus to Lydus.

The acceptance of such a belief is often purely a result of temperament, but it is odd to find that the 'littera scripta' sometimes exercises a great fascination over Prof. Pais, of all men in the world. Curiously, even if his Ausonian theory were proved, it sheds no light on the early ethnology of Italy, because the spread of the name Ausonia is due largely to political amalgamation carried out by Morges and similar heroes.

In the essay on 'Ausonia' the writer poses as a defender of tradition. In others he returns to his more familiar and congenial rôle. An ingenious paper is that on 'Siceliot elements in the early history of Rome.' The theme is old, but the treatment shews freshness and originality. Part of the article seeks to prove that the story of the 'First Secession' is a replica of an event in the history of

Gela recorded by Herodotus (vii. 153). The democrats drove the aristocrats out, and these established themselves at a town near Gela. They were induced to return by an ancestor of Gelo the tyrant of Syracuse. Of the argument in favour of this theory, I can only say 'mole ruit sua.' Its great ingenuity cannot beguile a reader even into a momentary belief. As Prof. Pais seems to admit that the 'Second Secession' is historical, one is much surprised to find that he does not employ here what we may call his 'principle-of-all-work,' so conspicuous in the 'Storia di Roma,' and pronounce the First Secession a pale reflexion of the Second.

I ought to say that there are a number of articles in the volume which I am not competent to criticize. Also that in spite of the faults of method which I have indicated, and numerous risky details on which I cannot touch here, there are very many acute remarks on current views, and on passages in ancient writers, which will make it indispensable that the work should be consulted by those who handle in future the same topics.

J. S. R.

A THEORY OF VERSE STRUCTURE.

Homerischer Hymnenbau nebst seinen Nachahmungen bei Kallimachos, Theokrit, Vergil, Nonnos und Anderen, erschlossen von ARTHUR LUDWICH. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1908. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xii, 380. In paper covers, 10 marks: bound, 12 marks.

THE main feature of Herr Ludwig's new book is a theory based on his discovery of 'a remarkable peculiarity in the architecture' of the *Hymn to Hermes*.

'In arranging the framework of his poem the poet has utilized the two numbers which receive special prominence in the opening lines of the hymn'; its 580 lines fall into 'pericopae' of four and ten lines respectively; this is simply another way of saying that 580 is divisible by 4 and 10, and this is all that Ludwig claims for his theory; he expressly

warns his readers not to expect a division into stanzas or strophes in which a pause in the sense corresponds with the close of each metrical group.

The 'symbolism' of the poet's arithmetic lies in his choice of the numbers 4 and 10, which are sacred to Hermes because he was born on the 4th day of the 10th month. Ludwig claims that his discovery vindicates the traditional length of the poem, and we have no right, he says, to add or take away a single verse. He gives examples of the same principle at work in many other hymns.

We do not deny the facts adduced by Ludwig; but do they mean anything? There is no doubt that the ancients occasionally constructed poems on arithmetical principles; but we are going beyond the

limits of sane criticism if we extend this *Zahlensymbolik* to any poem on the sole ground that its total number of verses is divisible by one or two simple numbers, and therefore capable of being arranged in a 'monistic' or 'dualistic' scheme of 'pericopae.' We have only to find a simple divisor in any given hymn, and we shall require but little ingenuity to endow it with a deep inner meaning.

At times the expositor finds himself called upon to choose the sacred number from a perplexing variety of divisors, as *e.g.* when Ludwich hesitates between 2, 3 and 3, 4 in Callim. *Zeus*; Zeus, he remarks, 'possessed no fixed holy number'; for, as King of the gods, he enjoyed 'a certain freedom' in this respect; so that 2, 3, 6, 8, 12, or 16 would have suited equally well in this poem of 96 lines. Our suspicions are still further aroused when we observe that the same numbers are symbolical in a great number of hymns addressed to different deities. Were it suddenly discovered that the *Hymn to Helios* was originally intended for the Dioscuri, Aphrodite, Selene, or several other deities, we could still maintain its arithmetical principles by changing the mystical meaning of its 'tetrads.' The number 3 is sacred to Adonis, Apollo, Zeus, Demeter, Asclepius; 4 to Hermes, Heracles, Apollo, Aphrodite, Helios, Gaia, Dioscuri, Selene. There is no undue severity in the rules of the fascinating game invented by Ludwich; gods gaily borrow one another's numbers (especially those of their near relatives), and we are occasionally allowed to expel lines from intractable hymns.

Ludwich's theory will not protect the hymns against the expurgator. If we omit from the *H. Hermes* the lines bracketed as spurious in Baumeister's edition, we get a total of $580 - 28 = 552$ lines; this we can divide into 'pericopae' of 12 and 4 lines; the former finds its justification in the sacrifice to the 12 gods (δώδεκα μοῖραι v. 128), and the number 4 was universally regarded by the ancients as sacred to Hermes. If the interpolated lines numbered 27, we should have a remainder of 553, giving a 'monistic' plan of 7-line 'pericopae' derived from the close connection of the god with the 7 strings

of the lyre. The assumption of a single one-line lacuna (*e.g.* after 109) would give a like result, $581 = 7 \times 83$. Ludwich's own interpretation of the poem is open to serious objections; vv. 11-12, 17-19 and the archaeological footnotes in 25, 111 are rightly regarded by many critics as interpolations. There can be no significance whatever in δέκατος μείς (v. 11); the birth of a child at that date was not 'an unusual occurrence,' as Ludwich calls it, but quite in accordance with the ancient method of reckoning. In Herod. vi. 63 a child's legitimacy is seriously impugned because the mother οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας τίττει, and an ἐννεάμην child is declared to be exceptional (*ib.* 69). Further, Hermes was born τετράδι τῇ προτέρῃ, and Ludwich is wrong in his statement: 'volle zehn Monate lang trägt die Mutter das Kind unter ihrem Herzen.' It was but a few days over nine months.

The *Hymn to Pan* consists of 49 lines, a 'monistic' system of 'pericopae' in 7 lines. Like Apollo and Hermes, Pan was devoted to music; some even regarded him as the son of Apollo; accordingly 'the hieratic number of Pan was the same as that of Apollo, viz. 7.' Had the poem contained 51 (3×17) we should then have had a 'monistic' scheme based on 3, which was sacred to Apollo 'because with his sister and mother he formed a triad.' Supposing the number of verses to have been 48, the poem would be based on 3 and 4, and 4 was also sacred to Apollo. A total of 50 would give a 'dualistic' scheme with 10 and 5, the former borrowed from Pan's friend Hermes, and the latter of course representing the trinity Apollo, Zeus and Artemis, with the two musical gods Hermes and Pan. There is therefore no particular significance in the number 49; any figure from 48 to 52 inclusive would have suited just as well.

Ludwich finds the same principle at work in Latin poetry, and he gives several examples from the *Eclogues*. The reader can easily find for himself innumerable instances from the religious and secular poetry of every race and age. The following are in accordance with the canons laid down by the German scholar.

Catullus xxxiv. 24 lines to Diana; mystic numbers, 4 and 3, the sacred numbers of Apollo and Zeus, her father and brother; a 'triadic-tetradic' scheme like Callim. *Zeus*.

Catullus xxxvi. 20 lines; mystic numbers, 4 sacred to Venus (Veneri Cupidinique), and 5 representing Cupid as a member of the quintet Venus, Mars and their three children.

From English Literature the following case will suffice: Book I. of *Paradise Lost* contains 798 lines, divisible by the sacred numbers 3 and 7, the former denoting the Holy Trinity, the latter representing the Divine Perfection. English, Welsh and

German hymnology will also supply many striking parallels.

The very universality of the phenomenon discovered by Ludwich affords the strongest argument against its mystic significance; there will always be many poems the totals of which can be divided by 3, 4, or 5; and by the assumption if necessary of a single-line lacuna or interpolation we can include all the rest (now divisible by 2) in a 'monistic' scheme of 'dyads' like that suggested by Ludwich for the short *Homeric Hymn to Zeus*.

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WALTERS' AND CONWAY'S *LIMEN*.

Limen, a First Latin Book. By W. C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS, M.A., Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London, and R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D., Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. London: Murray, 1908. Pp. xxii + 376. 2s. 6d.

ELEMENTARY books in dead languages would be much better, and far fewer, if the difficulty and importance of their proper construction were more generally understood. The tact and experience of the practical teacher must meet the knowledge and insight of the finished scholar and together execute what differs little from an educational sword dance. How often the first has to say, 'You cannot teach *this*; it is abstruse'; and the second, 'You must not teach *that*; it is wrong.' The path of reconciliation is not easy to discover, but the well-known position and qualifications of the joint authors of *Limen* warrant us in the expectation that they will find it. The object of the book is to provide 'the grammatical staple of a three year course for boys who begin Latin when they are about eleven years old,' and its contents embrace grammar (accidence and syntax), reading lessons, questions upon them, and exercises with conversations. Whether the result, to produce which no

small pains and care have been expended, has the prime merit of being a 'teachable' book, I do not venture to determine, remembering what a schoolmaster once said to me, that it was rash to call a book 'teachable' till you had taught from it for at least a single term. But so much is clear at once that in its handling of the various topics *Limen* is not only rational and methodical but lucid and stimulating.

It will be interesting to consider how its authors approach the chief problems of elementary Latin teaching. One of these is the question, what part should philology be allowed to play in the exposition of the accidence and the explanation of the syntax? It is, I suppose, generally recognised that analysis cannot be altogether excluded from the presentation of declensions and conjugations, that the mind will of itself discern the difference between the ending of a word which changes in the individual but is permanent in the type, and its beginning, in which just the opposite is the case, and that it may as well be helped in the process. But how far should we go in this direction? Shall we adopt the thoroughgoing etymological analysis which, if I mistake not, Dr. Fennell was the first to introduce into an English school-book, and teach the division by 'stem' and 'suffix,' as

terra-m, porta-t? Or shall we divide by 'base' and 'ending' as *terr-am, port-at*, as in the *New Latin Primer* and Atkinson's and Pearce's *First Latin Book*. The former, to which the authors evidently incline, is the more strictly scientific; but it is apt to induce perplexities which we cannot remove, or remove only by explanations either uncertain in themselves or not readily comprehended by beginners. Inconsistencies too are inevitable. Take the declension of *diēs* (§ 107). There you have *diēs, diē-m, diē-ī* (G. D.), but *diē* (Abl.), and in a note *diē* is given as another form of the Gen. and Dat. The anomalies thus forced upon our notice retire into the background if the common coalescence of formative with inflexional suffix is recognised by the division *di-ēs, -em, -ē-ī -ē*. With a good tutor, this matter is of no very great importance; and speaking generally the use of etymological explanation in *Limen* is sparing and judicious. Some of the suggestions are new or at least not hackneyed. *dē* 'concerning' is compared to the English, 'to preach from a text.' *sicut(i)*, derived from *sī-cut(i)*, 'so, as' (not from *sic-cut(i)*), is used to explain the well-known anomalies *ut, ubi*, etc.; these have arisen from a misunderstanding of the compounds *si-cut, si-cubi*, etc., whose first element was supposed to be *sic*; *inpero* is from *in paro* 'to make ready (put) a burden on a person.' (So substantially Vaniček and Walde.)

Another question for the teacher of Latin is how should he deal with the numerous correspondences in the vocabularies of English and Latin. Should he draw attention to them in order to smooth, as he thinks, the path of Latin beginners? Or pass them over as being on the whole rather a hindrance than a help to progress? Or again utilise them to throw light on the meaning of the rarer English words which are derived from Latin? The last proceeding has its utility, but it belongs rather to the teaching of English than Latin, and in a Latin text-book should have been relegated to the index. On the other hand the authors are to be congratulated on the way they treat the English representative of a Latin word which has ceased to be its equivalent. No fault of our Latin dictionaries is more

mischievous than the intrusion into translations of such transliterations as *compensate, subtle*, and so forth. The authors see this clearly, as a single page will show. There (170) the vocabulary gives *excitare, propagare, doctrina, hereditas, pius, subiectus*, all with English translations from which *excite, propagate, doctrine, heredity, pious* and *subject*, are every one of them excluded. Some may think that strictness has been carried too far, but not those who have had much to do with looking over Latin composition. Upon the true correspondences there is little to say. All I have noted is that the authors might more frequently have called attention to the English derivations from the 'supine' stems of third conjugation verbs.

I now come to syntax. In spite of, and perhaps also because of, German and American activity, much in Latin syntactical theory is still in an unsatisfactory state; and all that we can demand from a first manual is that it shall be clear, concise, and as accurate as can be expected from an account that extends over some two centuries of shifting usage and embraces a multitude of details. Little fault can be found with the authors here. No new terminological 'exactitudes' have been introduced, unless we count 'patient,' for the subject of a passive verb; and the origin of constructions is explained where it is safe and illuminating to do so, though I rather doubt the advisability of importing Brugmann's explanation of the *-dō* suffix into the interpretation of the gerundive. The different types of the conditional statement receive arresting descriptions; the Open-question type, the Might-have-been type, and the Might-yet-be type. *Oratio obliqua* is treated more adequately than in most English and American grammars; but the statement that rhetorical questions, the answer to which is *not* known or clearly foreshadowed, are put into the subjunctive, is insufficient. Such questions, if a first or second person is concerned, are normally put into the infinitive.

Great pains have been spent on the reading lessons, and those in continuous narrative are written in pure and idiomatic Latin. The 'copy-book jargon' of so many

elementary books is wholly absent. The conversations are not in all cases so successful. The Latin sometimes seems stiff and unnatural; e.g. on p. 31, would the boy have called out, 'O Iuppiter, remus in aquam cadit,' and not rather, 'remum uide: cadit in aquam,' or else 'cadit remus in aquam'? Lively and unstudied Latin conversation is certainly not easy to produce: but our teachers must learn to produce it if the oral method is to succeed, and without the oral method the position of Latin will, I fear,

remain precarious. I could descant upon this topic, but I must content myself with a single word of warning, though not one that Professors Walters and Conway need. Latin conversation is a most useful adjunct to elementary teaching, but it must be confined to the regions—the sufficiently ample regions—which English and Latin hold in common. Outside these limits it is apt to be mere artifice and sham.

J. P. POSTGATE.

SHORT NOTICES

A Century of Archaeological Discoveries. By ADOLF MICHAELIS. Translated by BETTINA KAHNWEILER. With a preface by Prof. PERCY GARDNER. 9" × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxii + 366. With 26 plates. London: John Murray, 1908. 12s.

THE ordinary reader might expect this book to be a somewhat dry record, but he, and still more the specialist, will find it alive with interest and fascination. Professor Michaelis does not limit himself to Greece and Rome, nor does he only discuss the work of the excavator; and he has certainly added to the value of the book by incorporating the chief results of critical research in such subjects as Greek sculpture and vase painting. The story of the Elgin Marbles and of the provoking misfortune by which those of Aegina were lost to the British Museum, is in particular of great interest to us. Much of his chronicle is doubtless familiar from other works on the same lines, such as those of Schuchhardt, Percy Gardner, and Diehls, but many records of less known yet important discoveries are included. An apparent tendency to ignore the recent labours of British archaeologists may be noticed, such as the work done in Cyprus and Melos, which publications have now rendered accessible to foreign scholars; these may be more familiar to English readers, and on that account less missed, but they might still have been incorporated in the useful chronological

table at the end of the book. Bibliographical references might with advantage have been added throughout or in a concise table at the end. We note a few odd misprints, such as 'Cerveteri' on p. 70; on p. 91 'the lioness . . . although her hind-quarters are already paralysed, lifts his (*sic*) head'; in the chronological table, 'Ketalog' (1854); 'Kleimasien' (1903); and the title of Prof. Strzygowski's work (1901) is not 'Rome oder Orient' but 'Orient oder Rom.'

H. B. W.

Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases. By EDMOND POTTIER. Translated by BETTINA KAHNWEILER. With a preface by JANE ELLEN HARRISON. 9" × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 92. 25 plates. London: John Murray, 1909. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

THE original of this work has already been noticed in these pages (*C.R.* 1905, p. 377). M. Pottier's charming and lucid style loses nothing by its re-appearance in English form; his illustrations are all reproduced, and the only important difference is the increase in price from 3 fr. 50 to 7s. 6d., due to the fact that the plates now appear in colour. Of the latter change one unfortunate result is that Fig. 5 appears as a vase-painting drawn *in outline* on red ground! Miss Harrison contributes a characteristic preface.

H. B. W.

Die Bestimmung des Onos oder Epinetron.

By Dr. MARGARETE LÁNG. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
Pp. viii + 70. 23 illustrations. Berlin:
Weidmann, 1908. Mk. 2 40 pf.

THE chief interest of Dr. Margarete Láng's brochure is that it is an attempt to deal with the curious implement known as the *ónos* or *ἐπίνητρον* from the practical feminine point of view. It was apparently used for more than one purpose (Hesychius says that it was used for smoothing the thread for spinning), but was always placed on the knee, as depicted in vase-paintings. Probably it was of wood, a more practical material, the terracotta examples which we possess being either votive offerings (e.g. those found on the Athenian Acropolis), or wedding presents, afterwards placed in tombs.

H. B. W.

Πορφύριον Ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά. Recensuit
B. MOMMERT. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xxxiii
+ 56.

THIS is a carefully edited text of Porphyry's 'sententiae,' by a scholar whose name is not familiar to us. The 'praefatio' contains a lucid account of the manuscript upon which, together with Stobaeus, the text is based, and also, amongst other matters, a discussion of the title and design of the work. The work is designed,—so the editor concludes,—to serve as an introduction to philosophy, and its proper title is *ἀφορμαί*, not *ὑπομνήματα*, *κεφάλαια* or *ἐπιχειρήματα*. Under the text are printed, first, the parallels from or references to the philosophic sources (mainly Plotinus), and, at the foot, the critical notes. In the constitution of the text the editor is indebted for many useful emendations to Mr. G. Kroll, to whom the book is dedicated.

R. G. B.

Silanus the Christian. By E. A. ABBOTT, D.D.
London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 368.

THE doctrinal standpoint of the author of *Philochristus* is well known to students who interest themselves in theological questions. For the benefit of non-theological readers we may say that this doctrinal standpoint is, briefly: 'Non-miraculous Christianity.' Some would reply that this is impossible; and to these Dr. Abbott offers the present book by way of disproving their contention.

Naturally, such a book is in the highest degree contentious, though written with all Dr. Abbott's skill and tact. The book is in the form of a 'story'; but the story-telling part of it is very thin—little more than a background for the exposition of the writer's own views. No detailed proofs are given; these must be looked for in the supplementary volume of 'Notes.'

From the point of view of the classical reader, pure and simple, not the least interesting parts of *Silanus* are the sections devoted to Epicurus and his system.

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M. Manilii Astronomica. Edidit THEODORUS
BREITER. Pars II. *Commentary.*

THE first part of this work (the text only) I reviewed in the *Classical Quarterly*, ii. 2. 123 sqq., and I was able to speak of it in terms of commendation such as I am unable to give to the present volume. Breiter has been writing upon Manilius for more than half a century; but this Commentary is not worthy of his reputation. It leaves the reader under the impression that the editor has a real knowledge of Manilius, but little or no gift of exposition. Nor can I escape the suspicion that the work has been executed with haste: if B. had not been working so long upon Man. I should say it had been 'scamped.' Difficulties of reading are not discussed. *Certain* emendations are not even noticed. Interpretations other than Breiter's are wholly neglected. No attempt is made to illustrate or explain the Latin of M. And I marvel for what class of reader this work is intended. The *κακοήθες* of 'Quellenforschung' is everywhere apparent; and again and again B. obscures a difficult issue by seeking to interpret M. from every source save M. himself.

Nor are the faults of this Commentary merely negative. The number of really bad mistakes in it is startling. I select two for special notice: 2. 489 'consilium ipse suum est' is interpreted by B. as = 'amat se.' This is impossible not only as Latin but also as astrology; moreover, no previous commentator has ever made a mistake as to the meaning here. 4. 750-1 'laxo Persis amictu, uestibus ipsa suis haerens': B. interprets this to mean that the Persians wear loose outer garments and tight underclothing. Whence he derives his knowledge of Persian underclothing I do not know; but all that Manilius says is that the Persians are *bracati* (as Ovid, *Trist.* 10. 34 'pro patrio cultu Persica braca tegit'), and that their *bracae* are of wool, i.e. 'haerens = haerens Arieti ('belonging to Aries,' as 2. 443 'Mauorti haeret') qui laniger est.' Aries is *laniger*, and Persia belongs to him even in its garments: *uestibus* is ablative. Other mistakes I might notice of a like kind.

I am sorry not to be able to speak with greater respect of this book; for Breiter has in the past deserved well of Manilius. But I have had this

Commentary in my hands every day for four months, together with other works upon Manilius, and I cannot see that it advances the study of its subject.

H. W. GARROD.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes: Divinatio in Q. Caecilium; in C. Verrem recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit GULIELMUS PETERSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, n.d.

READERS of this journal will be familiar with the critical principles of Principal Peterson. In his Preface he refers amongst other articles to *C.R.* vol. xvi. pp. 401-406, and vol. xvii. pp. 162-164. No one who has given serious attention to the subject can doubt that he has established one contention at any rate, viz. that the excellent Cluny manuscript No. 498 is identical with that used by P. Nanninck in 1548, and by Franz Schmidt († 1573), and owned by Jean Matal (1520-1597), and that the first hand in Lg. 42 is in wonderful accord with it as a rule. The editor's work and that of Mr. A. C. Clark have undoubtedly laid more securely and scientifically than ever before the foundations for a trustworthy text, which will not be widely different from what Cicero actually wrote. The reviving interest in Petrarch's age is bearing fruit. Only there remains, and probably will long remain, room for difference of opinion, due to the character of editors—to the personal equation. Professor Peterson's can be estimated by one or two examples—all that there is room for in this notice.

In II. i. § 41 we have 'idem iste . . . idem in Cn. Dolabellam qui in C. Carbonem fuit. Nam quae in ipsum valebant crimina contulit in illum, causamque illius omnem ad inimicos accusatoresque detulit; ipse in eum cui legatus, cui pro quaestore fuit, inimicissimum atque improbissimum testimonium dixit. Ille miser cum esset Cn. Dolabella,—cum proditione istius nefaria, tum improbo ac falso eiusdem testimonio,—tum multo ex maxima parte istius furtorum ac flagitiorum invidia conflagravit.' The critical note runs, 'Cn. Dolabella *del. Naugerius, Iord., Kays.: malim* Ille miser (i. § 74) cum esset *conflictatus*, cum etc.' The interjectional use of *miser* is, of course, common; but it is an 'idol' to expect an author continually to use the same turns of expression. Here *miser* may very well be taken predicatively, 'to be pitied both for Verres' abominable treachery and for his shameless false evidence against him.'

In II. 4 § 26 all the MSS. give 'Vestrane urbs electa est ad quam cum adirent ex Italia crucem civis Romani prius quam quemquam amicum populi Romani viderent?' except that Harl. 4852 has *cives Romani*. The editor inserts *cives* before *crucem* (cf. *C.R.* xviii. 210). Mueller added *quicumque* before *adirent*. But for the plural used without a subject expressed, cf. 2 Phil. § 105 *Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna*.

On the other hand, in II. 4 § 20, 'Res publica detrimentum fecit quod per te imperi ius in una civitate imminutum est: Siculi, quod ipsum non de summa frumenti detractum, sed translatum in Centuripinos. . . et hoc plus impositum quam ferre possent,' the editor rightly keeps *quod ipsum* of RS. (*quod hoc pδ*), and rejects the specious *quod id ipsum* of Richter. Similarly the passage in § 22 about the condemnation of C. Cato, the consul of 114 B.C., he very properly retains as authentic, merely adopting Rossbach's improvement of the punctuation. That Velleius ii. 8 is not the source of an interpolation, but is drawn from Cicero, is undoubtedly the correct view.

Lastly, to take a point of spelling. It is often taken for granted by editors that an author would not avail himself of two forms of a word, although the example of English writers might have shown that, for euphony even, an elegant or scholarly taste will sometimes vary the form of a word. In II. 4 § 1, we have (according to RSHp) in *Sicilia tota, tam locupleti, tam vetere provincia* (δ alone have *locuplete*). In § 29 RS give a *Phylarcho Centuripino, homine locuplete ac nobili* (δ 'ut semper' *locuplete*). In § 46 *L. Papinio, viro primario, locupleti honestoque equite Romano*, with no variant noted. The editor reads *locupleti* in all cases. It is sounder to follow the evidence of RS and to look for an explanation of the variation. Cicero appears to use *locupleti*, except when that form would give an unmusical iteration of *i*-sounds, when he substitutes *locuplete*, as in § 29, because of *nobili*.

These instances should suffice to give the reader an understanding of the editor's manner of working. His text is as little open to serious cavil as any probably could be, that could be constituted to-day, and his *apparatus criticus* is a solid contribution to knowledge, whether a reader disagrees in any case with his inferences from it or not.

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VERSIONS

He first deceased; she for a little tried
To live without him, liked it not and died.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

ᾧ χεῖρ' ὁ μὲν πρότερος· βαῖδν χρόνον ἥδ' ἀτὲρ
ἀνδρὸς
τλᾶσα βίον τρίβειν ἥχθετο κἀπέθανεν.

E. D. STONE.

THERE are not words enough in all Shakespeare to express the merest fraction of a man's experience in an hour. The speed of the eyesight and the hearing, and the continual industry of the mind, produce in ten minutes what it would require a laborious volume to shadow forth by comparisons and round about approaches. If verbal logic were sufficient, life would be as plain sailing as a piece of Euclid. But as a matter of fact we make a travesty of the simplest process of thought when we put it into words; for the words are all coloured and forsworn, apply inaccurately, and bring with them, from former uses, ideas of praise and blame that have nothing to do with the question in hand. So we must always see to it nearly, that we judge by the realities of life and not by the partial terms that represent them in man's speech; and at times of choice we must leave words upon one side, and act upon those brute convictions, unexpressed and perhaps inexpressible, which cannot be flourished in an argument, but which are truly the sum and fruit of our experience. Words are for communication, not for judgment.

R. L. STEVENSON: *Walt Whitman.*

Ὅσα γὰρ καὶ βραχ' ὅς τις μέρους μιᾶς ἡμέρας πάσχει τε καὶ πράττει, πῶς ἂν καὶ πᾶσι τοῦ Ὀμήρου λόγοις χρώμενος οὐχ ὅπως πάντα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοστὸν ἂν μόριον διεξίῃ; τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ταχυτῇτι βλέπουσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὕτω συνεχῶς τῷ νῷ χρῶνται, ὥστε εἴ τις βούλοιο καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σκιαγραφίας μέρει μόνον ἀποδείξει, μεγίστην ἂν τῇ βίβλῳ καὶ πλείστῳ τῷ πόνῳ χρώμενον δεῖν συγγράφειν, καὶ τοῦτο σκολιῶς πως καὶ ἐκ παραβολῆς ἀπτόμενον τοῦ πράγματος. εἰ γὰρ ἱκανὸν ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν λόγων ἀκριβές, τί ἂν χαλεπώτερον συνιέναι βουλομένοις ἐδόκει τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὰ τῶν γεωμετρῶν προβλήματα; ἀλλὰ κωμωδοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οὐ συγγράφουσιν οἱ καὶ τὰ ἀπλούστατα τῆς νοήσεως ἐπεξίέναι πειρώμενοι· κίβδηλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ παράσημοι οἱ λόγοι καὶ οὐ δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπικεῖνται, ἅτε διὰ τὸ τοσαυτάκις πρότερον ῥηθῆναι ἔπαινόν τινα καὶ ψόγον ἀλλότριον ἐνσημαίνοντες. ὥστε πᾶσι σκεπτέον τόδε, ὅπως τοῖς οὖσι τοῦ βίου τεκμαιρόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνδεῶς ἀναφαίνουσι λόγοις κρινούσιν ἃ αἰσθάνονται· καὶ ὅταν δέῃ δυοῖν θάτερον προαιρεῖσθαι, τοὺς λόγους ἀπολιπόντας τὰ τῆς γνώμης τὰ ἄλογα καὶ ἄρρητα καὶ ἔστιν ἃ λέγεσθαι οὐδαμῶς ἐνδέχόμενα, οἷα ἐνδείκνυσθαι μὲν ἀδύνατον διαλεγόμενοις, τῷ δὲ ὄντι ἀκμὴ τις ἡμῖν ἔσθι καὶ καρπὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον παθῶν,—πρὸς ταῦτα χρὴ ἀποβλέποντας προαιρεῖσθαι. διὰ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κοινοῦσθαι προσήκει ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ κρίνειν.

J. M. EDMONDS.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

SOUTH RUSSIA.

Batum.—An exceptionally rich find of jewellery, of which all the pieces were acquired by the Russian Government, occurred here last year. A portrait of the Emperor Lucius Verus is an example of rare technique, being cut *intaglio* in a rock-crystal gem, which is then backed with gold foil, so as to give the effect of a relief in gold under the crystal surface. This kind of work was revived in the period of the Italian renaissance, and many crystal plaques of that date are extant, which were originally used in the decoration of caskets; but the gold backing of these has mostly perished. This Roman gem, which is of the finest workmanship, is set in a gold frame and mounted as a shoulder brooch. Other notable objects

were a silver bowl ornamented with an embossed figure of Fortune, and a necklace of gold beads which are curiously like some designs of the Minoan period.

Panticapaion.—The excavation of the cemetery has been continued. Among the finds were a stone sarcophagus with a lid in the shape of a gabled roof, a sepulchral chamber with painted walls,—barbarous motives, birds, figures with symbolical attributes, in blue and red, and a long series of gravestones. Most of these were adorned with sculpture in relief: horsemen and youths armed in the Scythian fashion, seated ladies with their maids, and other familiar types; and many were found with painted decoration, fillets and garlands, usually in red. There were remains of colour also on the reliefs. The inscriptions, which give the date to the stones, are mostly of Roman

period; but several go back to the fourth century B.C. One of the monuments is recognised as having been in the museum of Kertch at the time of the Crimean War, when the building was destroyed and its contents dispersed. There were also the usual large finds of gems and gold jewellery, a few archaic and later terra-cottas, bronze and iron ornaments and utensils, and pottery of all kinds—little Corinthian jars, Attic black- and red-figure ware, including a quantity of the miniature children's *lecythoi* decorated with palmettes, heads, and figures of geese and ducks, and plain black-varnished and moulded ware. One of these last fragments bears a *graffito* inscription: *ἱερὸς Διὸς φίλου*, which is of interest as being the evidence of the cult of Zeus Philios at Panticafaion.

Excavations were resumed in the tumulus of Blitynitya, which was partly explored in 1882. Near the centre were discovered five skeletons of horses, their heads turned towards the grave which was first opened. Near them were the bits and remains of harness; the bronze and silver trappings, unfortunately not well preserved, were decorated with relief, heads of Medusa and other designs. There were also strings of glass and bone beads.¹

AFRICA.

Mahdia.—The bronzes which were found in the sea off Mahdia have now been bought and cleaned. The little statuette of Eros is seen to have been adapted for a lamp, the head and bust forming the reservoir, while the torch which he holds was the burner. The large terminal figure of Dionysos has been found to bear the sculptor's signature, ΒΟΗΘΟΣ·ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ·ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. This inscription is a final confirmation of the conjecture that Boethos was a native not of Carthage, as was formerly supposed, but of Chalcedon in Macedonia. The style of the hair and beard of this figure and the dignity of the features are true to the fifth century manner of the original; but the free treatment of the fillets with which the head is wreathed is thought to be an innovation of the copyist.²

An attempt has also been made, with considerable success, to recover more of the shipwrecked cargo by means of divers. The funds for this purpose were provided by the French Academy. There was great difficulty in finding the place at which the sponge-fishers had drawn up the first pieces; but at last a mass of marble columns was discovered, tightly packed in rows and converging towards the bows of the boat, which must have been more than ninety feet long and about twenty-four feet in beam. Between the columns were other architectural members, including capitals of the Ionic and Corinthian orders. Many fragments of pottery were found, and one whole vessel, a storage amphora nearly three feet high. The only works of art which appeared were

fragments of the large marble craters, sculptured with reliefs, which were common in the Graeco-Roman period. The best of them is almost a duplicate of the Borghese Vase, which is now in the Louvre. The subject is a Bacchic revel; the figures preserved on these fragments are Dionysos, leaning on the shoulder of a young girl who is playing on a lyre, and a dancing Satyr. The exploration of these remains is to be continued, and other valuable discoveries may be made.³

Bulla Regia.—The excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo has yielded an important series of statues. The building itself, like many of the African shrines, which were largely influenced by Punic cults, consisted of an open courtyard surrounded on three sides by a colonnade, and three small chambers opening from the further wall of this precinct. In the central chamber, which bore over the doorway a votive inscription—*Deo patrio Apollini et Diis Augustis*—was a colossal statue of Apollo with the lyre, a variant, apparently an earlier version, of the type represented in the Apollo which was discovered at Cyrene by Lieutenants Smith and Porcher, and is now in the British Museum. The lyre is adorned with a relief: Marsyas, and the Scythian slave sharpening the knife to flay him. In front of the base of this statue is a triangular pedestal on which a tripod stood, and in niches on either side of the Apollo two more statues, Aesculapius and Ceres. In this group of deities, as in the form of the shrine, there seems to be evidence of the Punic religion; Apollo is Baal, Ceres Tanit, and Aesculapius Eschmun. Some of the other statues, found in the two side chambers and the colonnade, show the curious fusion of attributes which was common in Africa in Roman times: Athena, winged, wearing a mural crown over her helmet, and holding a cornucopia, is identified as Athena-Polias-Tyche-Nike; and a figure of Saturn similarly holds the cornucopia and wears the mural crown. There is another statue of Athena with wind-blown drapery in the manner of the Victory and Nereid types of the fifth century. The head of the figure is missing. A Roman in civilian dress of the time of Trajan has been converted for use at a later period; it bears an inscription of the fourth century A.D. and a beard has been engraved on the face in the later style. The statue of Minia Procula, also of Trajan's time, was probably re-used in the same way when the shrine was rebuilt under Marcus Aurelius.

Kairuan.—An inscription from the recently excavated Temple of Saturn contains an allusion which has not yet been explained: Pro salute Publii nostri et Passeni . . . liberorumque eorum . . . *dealbavit petram Saturni*.⁴

FRANCE.

Narbonne.—A tombstone which was recently discovered in the old ramparts and is shown by the material to be of local workmanship, bears a curious

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1908, pp. 159 sq.

² *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1908, pp. 386-7.

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 532 sq.

⁴ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1908, pp. 213 sq.

relief and an inscription. The field of the relief is divided by a partition, on one side is a corn-mill of the usual type, turned by a mule whose eyes are blindfolded, and on the other side a dog, wearing a collar from which a bell is hung, with a small altar in the background. The inscription reads:

M · CAREIVS · M · L · ASISABISIO · VIVOS ·
SIBI · FECIT · ET · CAREIE · NIGELLAE ·
ET · CAREIEÆ · M · F · TERTIÆ · ANNOR ·
VI.

MATER · CVM · GNATA · IACEO · MISERABILE ·
FATO

QVAS · PVRA · ET · VNA · DIES · DETVLT · AD ·
CINERES.

The name Careieus is of frequent occurrence in the district, but the cognomen is unique.

Alise-Sainte-Reine.—In recent excavations a bronze vase was found with the votive inscription: DEO · VCVETI · ET · BERGVSIAE · REMVS · PRIMI · FIL · DONAVIT · V · S · L · M.

This is of value, as it establishes the sex of Ucuētis, who, since his first discovery in a Gaulish inscription seventy years ago, has been taken for a goddess. It also introduces for the first time his female colleague, Bergusia. Such pairs of deities appear very commonly in Gaul.¹

¹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1908, pp. 496 sq.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

THE second open meeting of the British School of Rome for the present season was held in the Library of the School on Friday, March 12th.

The Director read a paper by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, illustrated by lantern slides, on the results of his recent journey to Sardinia, in which he was accompanied by the Director and by Mr. F. C. Newton as architect. Among the most important monuments discovered were several dolmens—one close to the already known dolmen at Birori, in the centre of the island, which had hitherto been believed to be the only one still existing in the island in a good state of preservation; another, near the village of Austis (which had afterwards been elongated, one end having been removed, thus forming a transition between the dolmens and the longer cellae of the tombs of the giants), and two others of an advanced type, one with a coverslab measuring over 4 yards by 3. Another tomb was partly cut in the rock and partly built, with a characteristic dolmen coverslab.

Another interesting class of monuments is formed by some tombs of the giants, somewhat shorter than the usual type, with a curved façade built of several courses of masonry: a small square hole communicated with the interior of the tomb. The whole of the tomb mound was covered with polygonal masonry of large slabs. In another case the characteristic round-headed headstone and façade of the tomb of the giants was imitated in a vertically cut face of rock, the cella being

cut in the rock itself. Another building already noticed by Sig. Nissardi resembled closely a 'naveta' or 'nau' of the Balearic isles. Several important nuraghi were also studied, and their structural peculiarities noted. In all the work done the presence of a trained architect was found to be of great assistance, and it is hoped that funds will permit the School to continue its work of exploration in Sardinia in other seasons.

THE IPHIGENEIA AT CARDIFF.

Two performances of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* in the original Greek were given last month at Cardiff by the Classical Society of the University College, *The Frogs*, who had previously produced, four years ago, scenes from the comedy of Aristophanes from which they take their name. The play was presented almost entire. The acting-edition, with a verse translation by members of the Society, was published (Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester) under the editorship of Professor Norwood. For the musical setting of the Choric Odes (by the Rev. W. G. Whinfield) 'The Frogs' went outside Cardiff, and they received some valuable assistance from the Cambridge Greek Play Committee: in all other respects the production was entirely their own, and primarily and chiefly the work of student members.

Each performance drew a crowded house; and afforded fresh proof, if proof were

needed, that an ancient Greek play can still hold a mixed or modern audience, even without such accessories as attractive scenery and fascinating dances: for on this occasion the chorus were drawn up in a row at the front of the stage and the background to the bright dresses and shining armour was a plain curtain of dark green.

Outstanding features of a very successful representation were the first scene of the play between Agamemnon and his slave at

early dawn, and the great climax, in which Iphigeneia shakes off her girlish fears and nerves herself to lay down her life for her country:

'Slay me! vanquish Troy! I die not childless since through ages down

Lives in place of home and children this my never-dimmed renown!

Mother mine, the base barbarian to the Greek must bend his knee

Ever. Thralls hath Nature made them! Hellas' sons are ever free.'

S.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—The Education Department has recently re-issued to the Secondary Schools its Circular on the pronunciation of Latin, and I find that it is again a reprint of the Report of the Committee of the Classical Association (*Proceedings*, Oct. 1906, p. 75-6). In most respects the scheme of the Committee is in agreement with the views of Munro, Roby, and other writers on the subject; but in one important point it differs from them in a very startling manner. I refer of course to the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe*. The Committee recommends that *ae* should be sounded nearly as *ai* in Isaiah (broadly pronounced), *oe* nearly as *oi* in boil, and adds the following Note:

'In recommending these sounds for *ae* and *oe* the Committee is guided mainly by practical considerations, since it has been found by experience that this pronunciation is convenient for class purposes. The Committee regards it as clear that this was the pronunciation given them in early Latin, etc.'

The word 'them' in this Note can only mean the diphthongs *ae* and *oe*, and the sentence as it stands is of course inaccurate. The inaccuracy is no doubt due to a desire for brevity, but it is none the less on that account dangerous and misleading. Indeed it is within my own knowledge that teachers of Latin have been misled by it into believing that when the Romans wrote 'aequos' they pronounced it 'aiquos.'

The late Mr. Munro devoted especial attention to this very point and expressed his views on it with great clearness and force. He held that Latin *ae* and *œ* should have the sound of the Italian open *e* (è), and he added that *œ* as a rule, *ae* invariably is represented by è: Cèsare, sècolo, etc.

The members of the Committee would no doubt themselves admit the soundness of Mr. Munro's views, which indeed are substantially those of Mr. Roby, Mr. Lindsay and other authorities, but they have introduced their startling innovation owing to the supposed exigencies of school classes. It is on this point especially that I wish to address you. I myself was for some years a pupil and an ardent admirer of

Mr. Munro; and in 1871, having been appointed lecturer in a Colonial University, I at once introduced his pronunciation. Nor did I ever find the slightest difficulty in getting it adopted by the students, who indeed took great pleasure in it. It is true that our pronunciation was not always absolutely correct, and I dare say we sometimes pronounced *caedo* as if it were written *cedo*. But that did no harm, for fortunately we all had brains enough to distinguish the two words by the context; just as we were able to distinguish other pairs of words which are not only pronounced, but spelt the same. In the same way I dare say we sometimes gave the *è* sound instead of the *oe* sound to *foedus*, but that also did practically no harm. I retired from my post in 1908, and my successor has since continued the use of Munro's pronunciation. Now comes the sad part of my story. During my time the Rector of the High School, from which many of our students were drawn, had also, without any difficulty, used Munro's pronunciation. But in 1908 he also retired, and was succeeded by a gentleman who insisted on introducing the *ai* and *oi* pronunciation of *ae* and *oe*, thus causing a discrepancy between the teaching of the High School and of the University.

The Committee, when they first issued their Report, guarded themselves by explaining that they were influenced by practical considerations of what was said to be feasible in schools. But as was to be expected, their Report is now printed and circulated without any such explanation; and it is, and will be, looked upon as a manifesto issued by the most competent scholars in England, declaring what was, in their view, the pronunciation of Latin in the best Classical period. This I look upon as nothing less than a calamity. The only remedy that I can suggest is this. Let the Association apply to Mr. Lindsay, with the assistance, if he requires any assistance, of Professor Strong of Liverpool, to draw up a circular stating shortly what was the pronunciation of Latin during the Augustan period, and let the Classical Schools be recommended to adopt that pronunciation as nearly as they are able.—Yours, etc., S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

** * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Bergfeld* (Hermann) *De Versu Saturnio*. Dissertation Inauguralis. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vi + 138. Gotha, F. A. Perthes. 1909. M. 3.
- Boulenger* (F.) *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours Funèbres en honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée: texte grec, traduction française, introduction et index. Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme*. $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{5}{8}''$. Pp. cxvi + 254. Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils. 1908. Fr. 3.
- Caesar*. Gaii Julii Caesaris de Bello Gallico liber I. With vocabulary; by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 84. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth back, paper boards, 9d.
- Cicero*. M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes pro P. Quinctio, pro Q. Roscio Comoedo, pro A. Caecina, de Lege Agraria contra rullum, pro C. Rabirio Perduellionis reo, pro L. Flacco, in L. Pisonem, pro C. Rabirio postumo. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit A. C. Clark. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xvi + 388 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Paper, 2s. 6d.; cloth, 3s.
- Ciris*. See *Némethy*.
- Colloquia Latina*. Adapted from Erasmus. First Series. With vocabulary; by G. M. Edwards, M.A. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 82. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth back, paper boards, 9d.
- Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis*. Vol. LII. S. Aurelii Augustini opera (Sect. VII. Pars 2). Scriptorum contra Donatistas. Pars II. Contra Litteras Petiliani libri tres, Epistula ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum, contra Cresconium libri quattuor, recensuit M. Petschenig. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xvi + 602. Vindobonae, F. Tempsky. Lipsiae, G. Freytag. 1909. M. 20.
- Crichton* (Douglas) *The Admirable Crichton: the real character*. By Douglas Crichton, F.S.A.Scot. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 64. Illustrated. London: L. Upcott Gill. 1909. 1s.
- Dies* (Auguste) *La définition de l'être et la nature des idées dans le sophiste de Platon. (Collection Historique des Grands Philosophes.)* $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 140. Paris, Felix Alcan. 1909. 4 Fr.
- Diogenes of Apollonia*. See *Krause*.
- Eitrem* (S.) *Drei griechische Vasenbilder*. 1. Der Auszug des Amphiarao. 2. Dionysos mit seinem Thiasos. 3. Opferaufzug. (Extract from 'Festschrift Dietrichson,' Kristiania, 1909.)
- *Hermes und die Toten. (Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling for 1909. No. 5.)* $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 74. Christiania, Jacob Dybwad. 1909.
- Euripides*. *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. Acting Edition, with a translation into English Verse; arranged, translated and enacted by "The Frogs" Classical Society of University College, Cardiff. Edited by G. Norwood, M.A. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xii + 96. Sherratt & Hughes. 1909.
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- Fitzhugh* (T.) *Carmen Arvale seu Martis Verba; or the tonic laws of Latin Speech and Rhythm. Supplement to the Prolegomena to the History of Italico-Romanic Rhythm*. $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 8. 1 plate. Charlottesville, Va., Anderson Brothers. 1908.
- Friedländer* (L.) *Roman Life and Manners, under the Early Empire*, ed. 7. Translated by L. A. Magnus. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxviii + 428. Routledge. 1909. Cloth.
- Gregory Nazianzen*. See *Boulenger*.
- Horatius and other Stories*. Adapted from Livy. With vocabulary; by G. M. Edwards, M.A. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 46. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth back, paper boards, 9d.
- Jacoby* (E.) *De Antiphontis Sophistae περί ὁμοίας libro. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 70. Berlin, Reimer. 1908.
- Krause* (E.) *Diogenes von Apollonia, II. Theil. Mit einer Zeichnung des Verfassers. (Program.)* $10'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 16. Posen, Merzbach.
- Lipscomb* (H. C.) *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 50. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Company. 1909.
- Martin* (H.) *Notes on the Syntax of the Latin Inscriptions found in Spain. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 50. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Company. 1909.
- Monro* (Charles Henry) *The Digest of Justinian*. Translated by C. H. M., M.A. Vol. II. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. viii + 454. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth, 12s. net.

- Moore* (Mabel) *Days in Hellas*. 8" × 5". Pp. xii + 236. With numerous illustrations and coloured frontispiece. London, William Heinemann. 1909. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Mutzbauer* (Carl) *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre und der Homerische Tempusgebrauch*. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache. Band II. 9¼" × 6". Pp. xiv + 324. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner. 1909. M. 9.
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- *De Ovidio Elegiae in Messaliam auctore*. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 24. Budapest. 1909. 60 fillér.
- Oldfather* (W. A.) *Lokriai: Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. (Doctor's Dissertation.) Reprinted from *Philologus*. 9" × 6¼". Pp. 67; 410–474. Tübingen, H. Laupp, Jr. 1908.
- Ovid*. See *Némethy*.
- Pallis* (A.) *The XXII. Book of the Iliad, with critical Notes*. 8¼" × 5¼". Pp. 84. Nutt. 1909.
- Perdrizet* (P.) *La Vierge de Miséricorde: étude d'un thème iconographique*. Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome: fasc. 101. 9" × 6¼". Pp. 260. 4 illustrations in text, 31 plates. Paris, Fontemoing. 1908. Fr. 18.
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- Phoenix von Kolophon*. Texte und Untersuchungen von Dr. Gustav Adolf Gerhard. 9" × 6¼". Pp. 302, mit einer Tafel in Lichtdruck und einer Skizze. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 12; geb. in Leinwand, M. 15.
- Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*. By J. A. Stewart, M.A. 9" × 5½". Pp. 206. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Porter* (W. H.) *Pervigilium veneris, translated into English verse*. 7" × 4⅝". Pp. 18. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1909. 1s.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

EURIPIDES, *HELENA* 962-974.

THE situation is this. Helen has been committed to the protection of the good Proteus, king of Egypt. By the death of Proteus, his obligations have devolved upon his daughter Theonoe. A claim for the restoration of Helen is now made by her husband Menelaus, who, in the course of his plea, speaks as follows:

969 ὦ νέρτερ' Αἰδη, καὶ σὲ σύμμαχον καλῶ,
ὃς πόλλ' ἐδέξω τῆσδ', ἕκατι σώματα
πεσόντα τῷμῳ φασγάνῳ, μισθὸν δ' ἔχεις·
ἢ νῦν ἐκείνους ἀπόδος ἐμψύχους πάλιν,
ἢ τήνδ' ἀνάγκασόν γε εὐσεβοῦς πατρὸς
κρείσσω φανείσαν τὰμ' ἀποδοῦναι λέχη†.

The god of the nether world, who has profited (such is the argument) by the many dead, whom Menelaus has sent to him for the sake of Helen, is called upon either to give back these dead, as a payment not earned, or else now to make repayment, by compelling Theonoe to restore Helen to her husband.

The last two verses have no metre. But the attempts to mend them, by repairing the metre only, are useless. The sense is equally defective. Hades is to *compel* Theonoe to restore Helen. But how is he to do this? What power or function in the matter has the god of the nether world? This is what the concluding verses, in their genuine form, must explain. And upon consideration, it

seems that between Hades and the office proposed to him there is but one possible link. To control and compel Theonoe, *he must release, for the moment, her father Proteus*. Proteus, if he could return and appear, would of course be master of the situation. His authority would displace that of his heiress (ἢ νῦν κυρία, v. 968), and he could deal as he pleased with the deposit (Helen) entrusted to himself. But Proteus cannot appear except by permission of Hades, and this it is which Menelaus demands:

ἢ τήνδ' ἀνάγκασόν γε, πατρὸς εὐσεβοῦς
κρείσσω γ' ἀνείς φαντάσματ', ἀποδοῦναι λέχη,

'Or else *compel* Theonoe to restore my wife, by sending up, to *control* her, the apparition of her pious father.' For the use of ἀνιέναι in this connexion, see Liddell and Scott s.v. The important words ἀνάγκασον and κρείσσω (*superior*, to the daughter) are thus each enforced by γε. Other arrangements, with the same sense, are possible, e.g.

ἢ τήνδ' ἀνάγκασόν γ' εἴμ' ἀποδοῦναι λέχη,
κρείσσω γ' ἀνείς φάσματ' εὐσεβοῦς πατρός.

But the first seems on the whole the most probable, and, as will be seen, a slight confusion in the letters γανεισφαι would account for the actual tradition.

Thus explained, the passage continues naturally the sense of the preceding (962 ff.),

in which Menelaus appeals directly to the deceased Proteus, but adds that, being dead, he *can now act only through his daughter* and representative. The connexion of thought thus indicated may perhaps throw light upon the defective verse 965,

οἷδ' οὖνεχ' ἡμῖν οὖποτ' † ἀπολέσεις † θανών.

Here ἀπολέσεις is nonsense, and nothing satisfactory has been suggested. Possibly the lost word signified, not 'you will restore (Helen)' or the like, but 'you will *return*.'

'I know that, being dead, you cannot come back to us,' would be appropriate to the context, and would be given by ἀπονίσσῃ (or -ει), whether taken as a present or as a future—a point upon which the ancients differed. Or ἀπονοστεῖς would give the same. This would afford a natural, though not necessary, lead for the subsequent appeal to Hades and the request that he will, for this occasion, make possible the impossible, and permit the return of the deceased.

A. W. VERRALL.

THE EXPRESSIONS ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος AND ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε IN THUCYDIDES.

Preface.

THE following article raises a question which is certainly interesting, and may possibly be regarded as important, with reference to the exact interpretation of the pronoun ὅδε in a number of passages in Thucydides. It is a question which has been much discussed, especially by German writers who have dealt with the order of the composition of various parts of Thucydides' work; but so far as I am aware, none of them has come to the conclusion at which I have arrived by comparison of the passages to which reference is made. The article has therefore, I believe, the merit of originality; whether it also possesses the merit of truth or probable truth must be decided by those who care to examine the arguments contained in it.

I myself approached the question from the historical point of view, and for the historical rather than the linguistic purpose; but I found it quite insoluble on purely historical lines, and was therefore obliged to consider the data from a point of view more linguistic than that of others who have written upon the subject. The conclusions may therefore be interesting to the pure scholar as well as to the historian.

For those to whom the subject may seem of interest, but who are unacquainted with the main lines of the criticism of the composition of Thucydides' history, I may say

briefly that the historical importance of these passages is as follows:

- (1) It has been argued that the first half of Thucydides' history (i. 1-v. 25) was *originally* written as a history of the Ten Years' War (431-421), in the years subsequent to the Peace of Nikias (421), that is to say before the Dekelean War, and possibly even before the Sicilian Expedition, began.
- (2) It has been further argued that this is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the existence in this first half of the work of passages which cannot have been written at a time when the author had the *whole* Peloponnesian War in view, because they would be obviously untrue if applied to the whole twenty-seven years of war.
- (3) Many of the most important of these passages contain the expressions which I propose to discuss in this article.

I may confess that I am a convinced adherent of the general argument stated in (1); but it will be seen later that, as far as the passages to which reference is made in (2) and (3), I do not feel that those which contain the expression ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε can be used as arguments in favour of this general theory in which, on other grounds, I have faith.

To enter into all the arguments which have been employed with reference to those

passages would necessitate the writing of a preface much longer than this article which it prefaces. I shall therefore confine myself to one or two selected examples.

Ullrich argues with reference to the passages iii. 98 (οἱ τοὶ . . . διεφθαρίσαν) and iii. 113 (πάθος . . . ἐγένετο), in both of which the expression ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε is used, that Thucydides would not have spoken so strongly in these passages had he known at the time of the greater events of the second war (cf. vii. 28. ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων ὁ πόλεμος ἦν), and especially of those referred to viii. 29 and 30, vii. 57, viii. 96.

If my interpretation of ὅδε after πόλεμος in Thucydides be right, Thucydides might have written those passages, even had he known of the events of the later parts of the whole war. In other words I believe ὅδε in this passage to be far more precise and limitative in meaning than Ullrich assumed it to be.

Herbst, a conservative and therefore anti-Ullrichian critic, after considering various passages in which this expression occurs, is inclined to come to the general conclusion that ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος refers to the Twenty-Seven Years', while ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε refers to the Ten Years' War. (v. his article in *Philologus* 38.)

My conclusion approximates more closely to his than to Ullrich's, but differs from it in certain essential and very important features.

Any student of Thucydides must notice at an early stage of his study of the author's work that the demonstrative adjective ὅδε when used with the word πόλεμος sometimes precedes and sometimes follows that noun. Furthermore, an examination of the passages in which these two varieties of expression occur will probably raise the suspicion that this variation is not a mere question of taste in the order of words in some particular context, but implies a difference of meaning in the demonstrative adjective. Even at the risk of anticipating the discussion it may be said that it seems almost certain that such a difference of meaning *does* exist. The difficulty is to determine wherein that difference lies. The question is one which

has been much discussed by modern critics, without, however, any agreement on the subject having been arrived at.

Before entering upon any detailed discussion of the question, there are certain general considerations which must be taken into account.

The contrast between the frequency with which Thucydides uses the demonstrative adjective ὅδε in connection with πόλεμος and the rarity with which he uses the adjective οὗτος with that noun is very striking. The latter is only found in three instances, in one of which it precedes, and in two of which it follows the noun;¹ whereas the former occurs in thirty-six cases, in fifteen of which it precedes, and in twenty-one of which it follows the noun.² In the cases of the use of οὗτος, there is in vii. 85 an express reference by name to the Sicilian War;³ the other two might refer, judged by themselves, to either the Ten Years' or the Twenty-Seven Years' War, though both probably refer to the Ten Years' War.⁴ The second noticeable point is with regard to the use of ὅδε alone. In the First Book it invariably precedes the noun πόλεμος. The same order is found in the earlier chapters of the Second Book (16, 21, 34).

¹ i. 23 (preceding); i. 21 and vii. 85 (following).

² Cases in which it precedes are found: i. 8, 13, 18, 23, 24, 97, 118 (3 times); ii. 16, 21, 34; vi. 17; vii. 44, 56. Cases in which it follows are found: ii. 47, 70, 103; iii. 25, 54, 88, 98, 113, 116; iv. 48, 51, 133, 135; v. 20 (twice); vi. 7, 93; vii. 18; viii. 6, 60, 87.

³ ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ.

⁴ I have called attention to this contrast between the frequency of the use ὅδε and the rarity of the use of οὗτος because it is so striking a peculiarity in the author's composition. But I have not made up my mind as to what conclusion is to be drawn therefrom. I cannot believe that it is simply due to a mere personal preference for the one form of the distinguishing adjective over the other, because, in point of fact, οὗτος is far more common than ὅδε in the general text of Thucydides. I believe it to be deliberate in a significant sense, but I confess I am unable to make any satisfactory suggestion as to where the significance lies. One negative fact is certain: that the common distinction between οὗτος as referring to previous and ὅδε as referring to subsequent matter, though marked in other parts of Thucydides, does not hold good in these phrases.

In ii. 47 it is used for the first time in marking the close of a year of the war; and there, as is invariably the case in Thucydides where ὅδε is used in this connection, it follows the noun. But the curious thing is that from this point onward to the end of the first half of the history in v. 25, ὅδε invariably succeeds the noun πόλεμος, whether it be used in speaking of the termination of a year of the war,¹ or in some other connection.² Thus the usage in the first part of the first half of the history is distinct from that in the second part of the same half.

In the second half of the history both positions of ὅδε are found. In recording the terminations of the years of the war, whenever used, it comes after the noun, as in the first half of the history.³ In one other case it also comes after the noun.⁴ In three cases it comes before the noun,⁵ but none of these three have reference to the end of a year of the war.

With respect to its use in dating the ends of years of the wars certain peculiarities are noticeable. The tendency of the author is to employ a set formula. The formula most commonly employed is: καὶ (ordinal number) ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν. This is found in ten out of the nineteen instances of this form of dating in Thucydides' work.⁶

A slight and apparently unimportant variant of this formula, καὶ (ordinal number) ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν, is found in two instances.⁷ In one instance an abbreviated form is used—(ordinal number) ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα.⁸ In the remaining six instances of the dating of the end of a year of the war the adjective ὅδε is not used,⁹ and the formula employed is καὶ (ordinal number) ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα in five of the six passages,¹⁰ and in the sixth a slight variant, namely (ordinal number) ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ.¹¹

¹ As in ii. 47, 70, 103; iii. 25, 88, 116; iv. 51, 135.

² As in iii. 54, 98, 113; iv. 48; v. 20 (twice).

³ vi. 7, 93; vii. 18; viii. 6, 60. ⁴ vii. 87.

⁵ vi. 17; vii. 44, 56.

⁶ ii. 103; iii. 25, 88, 116; iv. 51, 135; vi. 93; vii. 18; viii. 6, 60.

⁷ ii. 70; vi. 7.

⁸ iv. 116; v. 39, 51, 56, 81, 83.

⁹ Viz., those in Book V.

¹¹ iv. 116.

It thus appears that, ignoring the slight variation referred to above, the full formula is employed throughout the history of the Ten Years' War, with one exception,¹² and also throughout the history of the Sicilian expedition and that part of the narrative of the Dekelean War which Thucydides lived to write. In the Fifth Book (and once in the latter part of the Fourth Book) an abbreviated and less precisely worded formula is used, in which the word ὅδε does not occur.

Summing up, therefore, what has been already said, the general peculiarities which are noticeable with regard to the use of ὅδε with πόλεμος are as follows:

(1) Its frequency as compared with the use of οἶτος:

(2) That in the first half of the history, i.e. as far as v. 25, ὅδε, when used with πόλεμος, always precedes that noun in the text up to the thirty-fifth chapter of the Second Book; whereas from the forty-seventh chapter of the Second Book up to the end of this first half of the history, it invariably follows that noun.

It is also remarkable that the instance in the forty-seventh chapter of the Second Book is the first case in which it is used in dating the end of a year of the war.

(3) That wherever ὅδε is used in dating the end of a year of the war, it always follows the noun.

(4) That ὅδε is always employed in this form of dating, *except in the Fifth Book* and in one passage of the Fourth Book.

It is impossible to suppose that these peculiarities are accidental.

Ullrich was *disposed* to regard the earlier references in the first half of the work, those in which ὅδε precedes the noun, as applicable to the Ten Years' War, and the later ones, in which it follows the noun, as applicable to the war as a whole. But as a fact the earlier series of references are, *in themselves*, quite indeterminate; and, though they *probably* refer for the most part to the Ten Years' War, yet those in i. 97 and i. 118 probably refer to the Twenty-Seven Years' War.

In one passage (ii. 54) ὅδε refers almost certainly to the Ten Years' War; but then

¹² iv. 116.

the word πόλεμος does not appear, so that no conclusion can be drawn as to the significance before and after the noun.¹

It has, however, been already pointed out that the passages referring to the close of the years of the war which do not contain the word ὅδε occur, with the one exception in the one hundred and sixteenth chapter of the Fourth Book, in the Fifth Book only; and furthermore no such passages containing ὅδε are found in this book. It is noteworthy that this fifth book deals with a period in which the war though, according to Thucydides' view, alive, yet was not in actual progress. The context of the exceptional passage in the Fourth Book is noteworthy in the same respect. It runs thus (ch. 116, ad fin.): 'And with the passing of winter the eighth year of the war (τῷ πολέμῳ) came to an end.'

Ch. 117 then opens with the words: 'Immediately on the arrival of the Spring of the following summer half of the year the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made a truce for one year.' The juxtaposition of these two passages is remarkable in view of the special wording of the passages in the Fifth Book. The close of the eighth year of the war came in a period during which there was a pause in the operations, which pause was immediately confirmed by a regular truce. It came in fact within a time which, though not covered by the regular truce, might nevertheless be conceivably regarded as part of that period of cessation of hostilities which the truce formally established. It is true that the truce was not fully observed, because Brasidas in Chalkidike refused to regard it. Still it was actual throughout the rest of the area of warfare.

These considerations suggest, therefore, that one significance of ὅδε in the passages referring to the close of the years of the war is that it indicates that at the time that that

particular year, in connection with which it is used, came to an end, the war was in active progress.²

It is further possible that the correspondence of the formula in iv. 116 with the formula employed in Book v., and this despite the fact that the circumstances were not in strict correspondence with those dealt with in Book v., is due to a peculiarly deliberate act on the part of Thucydides. He was emphatic in asserting that the 'years of peace' of Book v. were in reality part of the war; and by the use of this formula in Book iv. 116 he identifies the circumstances of the truce of the Ten Years' War,—a period which all would reckon as part of that war,—with the circumstances of those 'years of peace' which, as he claims, but nobody else thought, were really part of the Twenty-Seven Years' War.

In these passages, therefore, which refer to the dating of the years of the war, ὅδε following the noun πόλεμος appears to have at least one special significance, *i.e.* Thucydides uses it of that which is in active and actual existence at the time of speaking; but omits it when the existence has been brought to an end, even if that end be only temporary, *before* the time of speaking.

It remains to be considered whether this is the only significance which ὅδε in this position possesses.

This involves a review of two series of passages:

(1) Those in which ὅδε follows πόλεμος in passages which do not refer to the dating of the years of the war.

(2) Those in which ὅδε follows other nouns than πόλεμος.

The passages in which ὅδε follows πόλεμος without reference to the dating of years of the war are: iii. 11; iii. 54; iii. 113; iv. 48; iv. 133; v. 20 (twice).

In iii. 11 the Mytilenians are represented as saying: 'Our survival was due to our courting their commons and the prominent men of the moment. But, judging from

¹ The passage is: ἦν δὲ γε οἶμαι ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβη Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὑστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμὸν . . . Here τοῦδε must almost certainly refer to the Ten Years' War, because, as Ullrich points out, the passage is written in obvious ignorance of the fact that the taking of Athens and the decision of the Dekeleian War was finally brought about by long continued starvation. The Dekeleian War, too, was another Dorian War.

² This conclusion is important, because in passages in which ὅδε succeeds nouns other than πόλεμος, the existence, at the time of speaking, of that which is referred to by ὅδε is a marked peculiarity of most of the passages.

the example of what has happened to others, we had no prospect of being able to maintain our position for long, had not this war (ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε) arisen.'

In iii. 54 the Plataeans are represented as saying: 'We assert in answer to the curt question, whether we have done any good to the Lacedaemonians and their allies in this war (ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε) that, if you put the question to us as enemies then we have not wronged you by not serving you, or, if you put it to us as assumed friends, then you yourselves are in the wrong since you have invaded us.'

In iii. 113 the disaster which overtook the Ambrakiots at Olpae and Idomene is spoken of as 'the greatest disaster of all which occurred during this war (κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε) in the same number of days to any individual Greek city.'

In iv. 48 Thucydides, speaking of the στάσις at Corcyra and the final destruction of the aristocrats, says that 'the civil disturbance, which had been violent, ended in this incident,' ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε.

In iv. 133 speaking of the flight of Chrysis after the burning of the temple of Hera at Argos, he says: 'Chrysis' tenure of the priesthood up to the time of her flight overlapped eight years, and half of the ninth of this war' (τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε).

In v. 20 Thucydides says: 'This treaty was made at the close of winter as spring was coming on, immediately after the city Dionysia, exactly ten years and a few days having elapsed since first the invasion of Attica and the beginning of this war (τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε) took place.'

Again in the same chapter: 'If, according to the practice in this history, the reader reckons by summers and winters, each having the value of half a year, he will find that ten summers and as many winters fall within the period of this first war.' (τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε γεγεννημένους.)

In these passages two uses of ὅδε may be distinguished:

(1) As referring to something in existence at the time of speaking, viz. iii. 11, iv. 48.

(2) As referring to something in existence up to the time of speaking, viz. iii. 54, iv. 133, v. 20 (twice).

The passage iv. 48 belongs to one of the two uses; but, until some decision has been arrived at with regard to the exact meaning of ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε in its special context, it is impossible to say which.

The passages in which ὅδε is used referring to the dating by years imply probably both ideas, viz. 'the war up to this time and which was in active progress at the moment.'

Owing to the very nature of the above passages ὅδε has a 'temporal' significance, that is to say, it limits in respect to time the noun to which it applies. Moreover, it appears to imply a very definite limitation in the mind of the speaker.

One of the general facts which has been shown to be apparent from an examination of the passages in which ὅδε is used with πόλεμος is that up to the thirty-third chapter of the Second Book this adjective precedes the noun. The use of ὅδε in the First Book and in these earlier chapters of the Second Book may therefore be its ordinary use of an event still to come. This would be natural in the First Book, where the author is dealing with events before the war opened. But even in the passages in the beginning of the Second Book the futurity of the war, or of part of it, is implied. In ii. 16 the reference is to the habitual residence of the majority of the population of Attica in rural districts, μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου; in ii. 21 to an invasion of Attica, πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου; in ii. 34 to the funeral oration of Perikles as the first example, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ, of a practice which was customary, and which was presumably carried out on subsequent occasions during the war. Even in this passage the future course of the war, which had then only just begun, was prominently before the mind of the writer.

In the passages in the later books, however (vi. 17, vii. 44, vii. 56), the idea of futurity in the expression ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος is not traceable; and the adjective seems to be used merely as determinative of the identity of the war, without implying that it was in whole or in part a future event.

Thus the remarkable contrast between the use of ὅδε before the noun in the early part of the first half of the history, and its use after the noun in the later part of the same

half, seems to be deliberate in the full sense. The difference of position implies a marked difference of meaning.

Expressed in general terms, the difference is that ὅδε before the noun is used in these early passages in its ordinary prospective sense, whereas in the cases in which it follows the nouns it is usually employed in a retrospective sense.

The retrospective meaning of the adjective ὅδε is not identical with that of ὁδτος, in that it seems to imply what ὁδτος does not necessarily imply, namely, that that which is spoken of existed not merely in the past, but either at or up to the time of speaking.

This implication is of course most marked in those passages in which ὅδε is used expressly as determinative of time; but it is also traceable in other passages in which the idea of time is not prominent. This comes out on examination of the passages in which ὅδε as an attribute follows nouns other than πόλεμος.

There are twenty-eight such passages in Thucydides' work, in fifteen of which the definite article is also used with the noun with which ὅδε agrees.

Of these passages twenty refer to circumstances, things or periods which were in existence at the time of mention, while in all cases either their existence in the past, or some action relating to them in the past, is mentioned or implied.¹

¹ The passages are :

i. 2. παράδειγμα τῷδε: the example is given in the immediately preceding text.

i. 53. In an Athenian speech: reference to the Coreyreans 'our present allies, to whose assistance we went' in the past.

i. 68. In the Corinthian speech at the first Congress at Sparta: reference to 'the allies present,' who have been allies in the past.

i. 75. In the Athenian speech at the first Congress at Sparta: reference to the empire still existent, and to the mode in which it was acquired in the past.

i. 140. In Perikles' speech: reference to the Peloponnesian embassy, then apparently at Athens, and to previous embassies from the same quarter.

ii. 34. Reference to the public funeral of those who had fallen in the war. The τάφον mentioned is one of a previous series, but the first is this war. Reference has also been made in the immediately preceding text to this particular funeral.

ii. 35. In the Funeral Oration: reference to τὸν λόγον τῷνδε in a speech which is actually being made.

In these twenty passages the special use of ὅδε is naturally most apparent in those in which time is definitely mentioned, as in iii. 13 and viii. 99, or definitely implied, as in i. 53, i. 75, i. 140, iv. 85, vi. 12; but the 'temporal' idea is always behind this use of ὅδε, even if the reference to the past be merely to that which has been just previously mentioned by the historian, as in i. 8, ii. 34, v. 18, v. 22, v. 68, vi. 78. The remainder of the twenty-eight passages stand in a class by themselves. In them ὅδε is used after

It has been already clearly indicated in the text that similar speeches had been made in the past.

ii. 35. In the same oration: reference to the funeral—περὶ τὸν τάφον τῷνδε—which is proceeding, but not concluded. Similar funeral ceremonies had been carried out in the past.

ii. 64. In Perikles' speech: reference to the plague which was still in existence, and had been in the past.

ii. 74. In Archidamos' speech at Plataea: reference to Plataea and to the beginning of the invasion, a matter in the then past.

iii. 13. Reference to a proposed invasion of Attica in the summer in which the proposal is made: 'if you invade a *second* time this summer'; i.e. reference to a previous invasion.

iii. 57. In the Plataean speech: reference to their trial which is proceeding.

iii. 85. In a speech of Brasidas: reference to his own army, which is then present, and to the fact that he had had it with him in the past at Nisaea.

v. 18. Reference to the terms of a treaty which have been stated in the previous text. In this case the language is apparently that of an official formula, not that of Thucydides himself.

v. 22. Reference to an alliance then being made, and whose existence has been already indicated in the previous text.

v. 68. Reference to the order of battle at Mantinea, which has just been described in the previous chapter.

vi. 9. Reference to an ἐκκλησία which is already assembled.

vi. 12. In a speech of Nikias: reference to the Sicilian fugitives, who have already asked for help.

vi. 40. In a speech of Athenagoras: reference to Syracuse as it was at the time—a democracy; a contrast with the past implied.

vi. 78. Reference to an envy and fear which is felt by one state of another, and to which the speaker has already referred in the previous sentence.

vii. 66. In the speech of Gylippos: reference to Sicily or Syracuse and to the original coming of the Athenians, spoken of as in the recent past.

viii. 99. Reference to the summer which is running its course at the time of speaking, and to an event which had previously taken place in the same summer.

the noun, refers to a quotation, or, in one case, to a list, which *immediately* follow in the text. This use is found in six passages.¹

These passages have certain noticeable points of resemblance:

(1) That to which reference is made follows, as has been already mentioned, immediately in the text.

(2) In five out of six passages that to which reference is made is a quotation in the actual words of the original, while in the sixth (ii. 9) it is a list which may conceivably have been drawn from some official source.

The idea lying behind the use of ὅδε in these passages is doubtful. It may be that the adjective is put immediately before the quotation, that is to say, after the noun with which it agrees, on the analogy of the pronoun τοιάδε as used in the introduction of speeches into the text. But it is also possible that the idea expressed by ὅδε after the noun may extend in some instances to that which has a definite termination in that future which *immediately* follows the time of speaking, and, on the analogy of this temporal use, be applied to that which immediately follows in the text.

The examination of these passages in Thucydides' work seems then to show that the author used the adjective ὅδε after the noun in two or possibly three senses:

(1) Of that which had an existence in the past and which was still in existence at the time of speaking.

(2) Of that which had an existence in the past and whose existence extended up to the time of speaking; and possibly

(3) Of that which terminated in an immediate future known at the time of speaking.

This third possible use might easily

¹i. 132. τὸ ἐλεγείον τόδε: the lines immediately follow.

ii. 9. πόλεις τάσδ': a list of the states immediately follows.

iii. 104. ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι τοῖσδε: the lines immediately quoted.

iv. 105. κήρυγμα τόδε: proclamation immediately quoted.

iv. 117. ἐκεχειρία . . . ἥδε: terms of the truce immediately given.

viii. 57. σπονδὰς τρίτας τάσδε: terms of the treaty immediately given.

develop out of the first use, in which a certain futurity of existence is implied though not postulated.

For practical, and indeed for theoretical purposes, the three uses have to be distinguished, but one general idea underlies all of them, the idea, namely, of the existence of that to which reference is made, at least up to the time of speaking.

The importance of these uses in relation to the date of the composition of various passages in the history need not be emphasised. These passages relate to various incidents in the 'Ten Years' War, in that part of Thucydides' History which extends from ii. 47 to v. 25 inclusive.

It has been sufficiently indicated in what has been already said on this question that the passages which state the termination of the years of the war have no significance in this connection. ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε in these passages refers neither to the 'Ten Years' War nor to the whole war, but simply to the war up to the time of speaking.

But there are other passages in this section in which the expression is used, which have provoked a great deal of comment both from Ullrich and his followers and their opponents. It is commonly argued by the progressives that the expression as originally written by Thucydides meant 'the whole war,' but that the circumstances mentioned in the passages make it impossible to suppose that the Twenty-Seven Years' War could be implied, and therefore Thucydides when he wrote those passages had the Ten Years' War, and the Ten Years' War only, in his mind. In other words, they were written in the first draft of his history, were never revised, and are in fact part of the proof that a first draft of this part of the history was written. It has been necessary to examine the majority of these passages from a general point of view in the course of this inquiry; but it is now necessary to examine them further with special reference to the evidence they afford, in the light of the conclusions already arrived at, as to the date of their composition. It may be well to add to them certain passages from the same section of the history (ii. 47-v. 25) which contain kindred expressions.

The passages to be considered are contained in iii. 11, iii. 54, iii. 98, iii. 113, iv. 48, iv. 133.

In all these the expression $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ is employed. The kindred passages are contained in ii. 25, ii. 94, iii. 68, iv. 40. In them the expression employed is $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$. In the first of these two series, if the conclusions already arrived at are sound, $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ must be intended to express one of three ideas either in the mind of the writer or attributed by him to some person or persons on his historical stage, these ideas being 'the war at present going on,' or 'the war up to this time,' 'this war which has a definite and known termination in the near future.'

In iii. 11 the Mytilenians are represented as referring to $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$. The meaning is obviously 'the war at present going on.' Consequently the passage throws no light on the date of composition.¹

In iii. 54 the Plataeans are represented as saying that they have been curiously asked whether they have done any good to the Lacedaemonians and their allies, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \tau\hat{\omega}\delta\epsilon$. Some commentators² regard this use of the expression as equivalent to that in iii. 11.

In iii. 52 Thucydides gives in an oblique form the question originally put, and there the expression used is $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\hat{\omega}\tau\iota$. In iii. 68 reference is again twice made to the same question, first in the words $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \dot{\iota}\pi\prime\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\hat{\omega}\nu\ \pi\epsilon\pi\hat{\omicron}\nu\theta\alpha\sigma\iota$, and secondly in the words $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \xi\upsilon\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\hat{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \delta\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$.

The expression in iii. 52 means undoubtedly 'the existing war';³ but the use of the perfect tense in both passages in iii. 68 points to a meaning 'the war up to the present time,' which is probably the meaning of the expression in iii. 54.

In any case the passage does not throw any light on the date of composition, as, whichever of these two meanings were attached to the expression, the expression itself might stand either in a history of the

Ten Years' War or in one of the Twenty-Seven Years' War.

In iii. 98 comes the first of a series of passages in which a particular event is compared with other events of the same kind in the course of the war. Of those Athenian hoplites who fell in Demosthenes' defeat in Aetolia it is said that they were 'the best men of the state of Athens who perished,' $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \tau\hat{\omega}\delta\epsilon$. Herbst⁴ thinks that the expression must be understood to refer to the Ten Years' War. That the expression does not imply a comparison extending beyond the Ten Years' War is, judged by the general usage of it in Thucydides, almost certainly the case. It might of course imply 'the present war,' or 'the war up to this time.' But in any case the expression might have been used by one who was writing either the history of the Ten Years' War or that of the Twenty-Seven Years' War, and is therefore quite indeterminate as to the date of the writing of the passage.

In iii. 113 the disaster to the Ambrakiots at Olpae and Idomene is said to have been the greatest which overtook any single Greek city within the same number of days, $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon$.

The meaning of the expression used in this passage is clearly determined by use of a similar expression in a later passage, which must be taken in juxtaposition with it.

In iv. 48 Thucydides, speaking of the $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ at Corcyra, says that it came to an end, $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon$, with the murder of the Aristocrats. Enough is known of the later history of Corcyra to make it certain that Thucydides could not in these words have been referring to the Twenty-Seven Years' War. The wording of the passage clearly shows that the historian knew of some later civil disturbances at Corcyra. But Thucydides cannot have known of any such disturbance at Corcyra after the Twenty-Seven Years' War, because it was not until thirty years⁵ after that war came to an end that such a disturbance took place. But in Diodoros⁶ there is mention

⁴ *Philologus*, 38.

¹ Herbst, *Philologus*, 38, takes this view of the meaning.

⁵ In 374 B.C. Cf. Diodoros, xv. 46 and 47, and Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 4-38.

² E.g., Herbst, *Philologus*, 38.

³ Cf. ii. 2.

⁶ xiii. 48.

of one under the archonship of Glaukippos in 410, and a reference in the context to the earlier civil war described by Thucydides. It must, therefore, be the events of the year 410 which the historian had in his mind when he limited his assertion to 'this war,' and 'this war' can only mean the Ten Years' War. It would seem, therefore, that in this passage the words *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε* belong to the second draft of this part of his history, and have been inserted on revision.

But it is improbable that Thucydides used this expression, *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε*, in a wholly different sense in iii. 113 from that in which he used it in iv. 48, and therefore his remark with regard to the disaster to Ambrakia must be understood to imply a comparison with other events of a similar kind during the Ten Years' War, and the *τόνδε* in the expression may be a later addition to the text.

In iv. 133 the priesthood of Chrysis of Argos is said to have overlapped the first eight and a half years. The expression may mean the Ten Years' War, but it is more probable that *ὅδε* is used, as in the dating of the years of the war, as meaning the war 'up to this point.' The expression is, in other words, correspondent to and suggested by the statement made in the sentence.

In itself the expression *ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε* in these passages does not give any clue to the date of their composition, but does not necessarily imply their revision. In all of them, with the exception of that in iv. 48, it might conceivably be used by a writer who was narrating either the story of the Ten Years' War only, or that of the Twenty-Seven Years' War.

For the main purpose of the discussion of the determination of the date of composition of these parts of Thucydides' history, the conclusion is itself inconclusive from a positive point of view, but it proves the important negative that these passages are *not*, as has been sometimes alleged, cases of unrevised elements in the first draft of the first half of the history. If they have any significance in this respect, it is that they *have* been revised.

CONCLUSION.

It may be well, perhaps, if I state briefly what I believe to be the conclusions which may be arrived at, and which I have expressed already in this paper.

(1) In all the passages in which *ὅδε* is used before *πόλεμος* by Thucydides in the first half of his history, the idea of the futurity of the war is obviously present in the mind of the writer [cf. the passages in the first book and the early chapters of the second book], whereas in all the passages in this part of the history in which *ὅδε* is used after *πόλεμος*, the idea *uppermost* in the mind of the writer is not the future but the present, and in most of them the present is the terminus of the idea, *i.e.* the idea of futurity is excluded.

(2) In this latter series of passages the idea takes various forms:

(a) That which is in *active* existence at the present and has been in existence in the past [this shown in the passages on dating of the year of the war] and arising, perhaps, out of this, certain passages in which the idea is of that which is in active existence in the present, has been in existence in the past, and has a definite, known terminus in the near future.

(b) That which has existed in the past and up to the present. [Passages in v. 20.]

On the question with which I am mainly concerned, the order of composition of various parts of Thucydides' history, those passages throw hardly any light.

Those in which *ὅδε* precedes *πόλεμος* might refer to either war and their reference, when determinable, can only be determined by their context.

Those in which *ὅδε* succeeds *πόλεμος* are so definitely limited with respect to time that, even if they had appeared in what was originally the story of the Ten Years' War, they might stand unaltered in a history of the Twenty-Seven Years' War.

There is, of course, the possibility that the *ὅδε* in some of these passages has been inserted on revision. Although I am on other grounds inclined to believe that Thucydides originally wrote the first half of his

history as a history of the Ten Years' War, and the Ten Years' War only, and wrote it too before the Dekelean War began, yet I

cannot, like Ullrich and his school, cite these passages in support of this view.

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THE DATE OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LEGIO XXI. RAPAX.

THE fate of this legion, the exploits of which are frequently mentioned by Tacitus both in the *Annals* and the *Histories*, is one of the many obscure points in the history of the Roman army at the end of the first century, to which modern research can give nothing but probable explanations. It is usually considered that the latest evidence for its existence is contained on the Mirebeau tiles, which can be dated to 83, and some inscriptions on the limes which probably belong to the same period, and most writers, particularly Ritterling and Filow in his recent essay on the legions of Moesia in *Klio*, 1906, consider that it was destroyed in the Danubian campaigns of Domitian. It has therefore frequently been identified with the 'legione cum legato simul caesa' of Suetonius (*Vita Dom.* c. 6). Trommsdorf, however (*Quaestiones duo ad historiam legionum Romanarum spectantes*, 1896), following an earlier suggestion of Schilling, has pointed out that this theory involves considerable difficulties. There must have been 29 legions existing when Trajan called his new legion XXX. Ulpia, and this legion must have preceded II. Traiana, which can only have been so numbered as being the second legion of Trajan. Now, it is generally stated that of the thirty-four legions existing at one time or another between Tiberius and Trajan four (I., IV. Macedonica, XV. Primigenia, and XVI.) were disbanded by Vespasian for complicity in the revolt of Civilis, and two others (V. Alaudae and XXI. Rapax) were destroyed on the Danube in the reign of Domitian. According to this reckoning only 28 legions remain at the accession of Trajan. Trommsdorf therefore, relying chiefly on a new interpretation of an inscription (*C.I.L.* III. n. 6813), considers that

only one legion (V. Alaudae) was destroyed in the reign of Domitian, and that XXI. Rapax survived into the reign of Trajan. Further than this he does not go, except to suggest that the erasure of the title of the legion on an early German inscription (*Inscr. Helv.* n. 248) indicates that the legion was eventually disbanded in disgrace. It seems possible to define even more closely the date of this disappearance. No regular system was observed by the emperors in numbering the legions which they raised, but it is certainly curious that Trajan, after having been struck with the idea of numbering his first legion XXX., should not have gone on to number his second XXXI. This, however, can be explained if we consider that XXI. Rapax disappeared after the creation of XXX. Ulpia, but before the creation of II. Traiana. In that case the total number of legions was again 29, and the new one had naturally to be numbered on a different principle. Now II. Traiana was certainly raised before 109, since an inscription (*C.I.L.* III. n. 79) of it exists in Egypt dated in February of that year, and Trommsdorf has given good reason for supposing that it succeeded III. Cyrenaica in that province in 106. We may therefore place the disappearance of XXI. Rapax between this year and 98. Further than this it is impossible to go with certainty, but a study of Trajan's column shows that his first Dacian campaign met with a decided check if not a serious reverse, and the 'ignominiosa missio' of the legion may well have been a consequence of its behaviour on that occasion.

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MORE FRAGMENTS OF SAPPHO.

IN the fifth volume of the *Berliner Klassiker-texte* there are three small fragments from the same book of Sappho's poems as the two which have already been re-edited in the *Classical Review*.¹ Only one of these three appears there with the words spaced. After a careful study of photographs of all the fragments I have been led to conclude that with regard to the first the views of Blass and others need some revision, and that something more can be made of the second than has yet been done. The third, consisting as it apparently does of the ends of longish lines, can give us some help in the metre of the other two, and contains one or two useful parallels. I refer to the poems of my former article by the numbers I, II, and III, and to the three pieces which are the subject of the present paper by the letters α, β, and γ.

α. In the first piece Sappho sings of a conversation with her pupil Gongyla, in which she tells of a dream in which Hermes appeared to her. Guided by the second piece and to some extent by the third, I differ from previous editors in regarding the second line of the stanza as consisting of eleven syllables like the first. Thus the metre of this poem—as of the next—is like that of II except in the second line. The first three syllables can be — — —, — — —, or — — —, and the group — — — — occurs in various places in the line, but never more than once in the same line.

Text:

...
 του[.
 ἦρ' ἀ[.
 δῆρα τῷ[.
 Γογγύλα τ[.
 5 ἦ τί σᾶμ' ἐθέλ[ης δείκνυναι τέαις
 παῖσι; Μάλιστά γ', [ἄμειβόμεν ἔγω· Ἔρ-
 μας γ' εἴσηλθ'. ἐπὶ [δὲ βλέποις' ἔγω Fε
 εἶπον· ὦ δέσποτ', ἔπ[παν ὀλώλαμεν
 οὐ μὰ γὰρ μάκαιραν [δέσποιναν ἔγω γ'
 10 οἴδεν ἄδομ' ἔπαρθ' ἄγα[ν ἔτ' ὀλβωι,

¹ June '09.

κατθάνην δ' ἤμερός τις ἦ[γρεσέ με·
 λῶ σᾶσ' εἰς δροσόεντ' ἄγ[ρον σ' ἄμμ', ἵνα περ
 Ἀτρήιδην Ἀγαμ[έμνον' ἄγαγες πρὶν

...]. δεθαι[.
 15 ...]. ηδετοῦ[.
 ...]. ατισε[.

Critical Notes:

4 The apparent apostrophe between γγ is prob. accidental: τ corr. from δ, we should therefore comparing II. 19. prob. read τ': the blank contained 'asked' and part of the question 5 ἐθέλης, for — — — in this position cf. β 5: not necessarily ἐθέλησθα, cf. Meister-Ahrens i. p. 186: Blass ἦ τίς ἄμμ' ἐθέλεξεν θέος 6 B μάλιστα μὲν αὐτος Ἔρ-, but — — — twice in the same line is prob. unmetrical 7 MS ἴσηλθ' (ι corr. from ε) 8 MS επ not εγ or εν 10 B ἄγαν ἐπ' ὀλβωι: ἐτ' Jurenka 10/11 Over κα a horizontal line separating the stanzas, so I. and II. 11 η[not ε[12 MS λωστησις, cf. 7 ἴσηλθ': αγ[or αμ[12/13 B [δ- | βροῖς ἴδην [στεφάνοις προκείσθ' ἔχοισαν 13 MS ἴδ: MS has upper traces of αγαγ[or αγαμ[

Translation:

. . . And Gongyla [asked me '.] or what sign wilt thou show thy children?' 'Yea, I will tell you,' I answered; 'Hermes came in unto me, and looking upon him I said "O master, I am altogether undone. For by the holy mistress I swear to thee, I care nothing any more that I am exalted unto prosperity, but a desire hath taken me to die." I would fain have thee set me in the dewy meadow whither aforetime thou leddest Atreus' son Agamemnon. . . .'"

Commentary:

- Γογγύλα: of Colophon, one of the three pupils mentioned by Suidas.
- ἔγω Ἔρ-: for the crasis cf. *Ode* 1 ὠράνω αἰθερος, *Fr.* 68¹ κελσεῖαι οὐδέποτα, *Fr.* 85 ἔγω οὐδέ.
- ἔππαν: i.e. ἐπίπαν; for ἐππ see my note on III. 2, and for πᾶν M.-A. i. p. 36.
- δέσποιναν: Aphrodite.
- ἔπαρθαι: perfect passive infinitive = ἐπῆρθαι.
- ἦγρεσε: cf. *Ode* 2. 14 τρόμος με | παῖσαν ἄγρει. Sappho perhaps wrote ἄγρεσε.

¹ Bergk⁴.

12. λῶ: there seems to be no Aeolic parallel, but the letters λωστησ are certain.

στᾶσαι: infinitive.

δροσέντ': cf. χρυσίαισιν and Λυδῖαν, *Fr.* 85.

- 12/13. ἵναπερ' | Ἀτρήϊδην 'Αγαμέμνον': cf. the Song of Harmodius ἵναπερ ποδώκης 'Αχιλλεύς, | Τυδείδην τέ φασιν Διομηδεά. The next line probably contained other names.

β. The first four lines of this piece do not appear in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, and the remainder is given there unspaced. The dotted letters are to be regarded as rather more than usually doubtful, especially as the lettering on the other side of the page often shows through in the photograph. But by various expedients, such as putting tracings of the two sides back to back and using tracings of letter-groups from other parts of the MS to confirm my observation, I have, I hope, guarded effectively against seeing what is not there. Sappho is apparently telling how one of her girl-friends came and awoke her one morning, and the fragment consists largely, if not entirely, of the words she puts into the mouth of the friend.

Text:

Ψάπφ', ἦ μὰν οὕτω δέ γ' οὐ σε φιλήσω.

ὦ φαίν' ἄμμι, κῆξ' εὖναν λῦσε τέαν

πεφιλημμέναν ἴσχνιν, ὕδατι δὲ

κρίνον ὦσπερ ἱλνίτας πᾶρ ὕχθωι

- 5 πέπλον Χίον ἀπύσχοισα λούεο
καὶ Κλεῖς σάων καββάλοισα γρύταν
κροκόεντα λώπεά σ' ἐββάλη καὶ

πέπλον πορφύρεον.

χλαιναι πέρ σ' ἐξ[. . .]

- 10 στέφανοι περ[.]

κάλθος σαμιν[.]

φρύσσον ὦ πρ[.]σε

παρθένων πο[.]οι

ταπα [.]

- 15 [.]

π. [.]

Critical Notes:

- 2 MS υμμε mistaking the intransitive use of φαῖνε
4 MS ἱλνίτης 5 MS χιον (not κων), o corr. from
τ, the scribe having begun to write χιτωνα 6 MS
κλεῖς: MS γρύτων 7 MS εβαλλη 9 χλαινᾶι?:
MS τ over ε in περ.

Translation:

' . . . Sappho, I swear, if thou come not forth I will love thee no more. O rise and shine upon us, and from thy bed set free thy beloved strength, and then with water by the bank, like the lily that dwells in the marsh, hold aloof thy Chian robe and wash thee. And Cleïs for thy adorning shall cast down from thy press saffron smock and purple robe. . . . '

Commentary:

- Ψάπφ', ἦ μὰν: so I. 6, where I would now put the colon at the end of the preceding line.
οὕτω δέ γ': 'unless thou wilt rise and come forth,' doubtless referring to the previous line.
φιλήσω: cf. Plautus' use of *amabo* = 'I prithee.'
- φαῖνε: for the intransitive use, which suggests a heavenly body rising, cf. Theocr. 2. 11 et al.
κῆξ: cf. κῆν, *Fr.* 68. 3.
- ἱλνίτας: the υ seems conclusive against connecting the word with ἔλος 'marsh' and Theocritus' *εἰλυτενής* (13, 42) rather than with ἱλνός 'mud.' Moreover, Hesychius explains *εἰλός* (*sic*) as τὸ πηλῶδες τοῦ ποταμοῦ 'the muddy part of the river.' The literal meaning, then, is 'dweller in the marshy river-edge.' The use of a noun in -της in apposition to the neuter κρίνον is strange, but not, I think, impossible. Lucian speaks of νησιώτη μεираκίωι *de Domo*, 3. It has the effect of personifying κρίνον.
ὕχθωι: i.e. δχθωι, cf. M.-A. p. 53.
- πέπλον Χίον: cf. Lucr. 4. 1130, where editors have needlessly altered the reading to *Cia*, i.e. Κεία.
ἀπύσχοισα: this can hardly mean 'throwing aside,' but rather 'keeping out of the way,' e.g. by tying it round the waist so as to leave the upper part of the body bare, or, if we imagine her standing in the water, by girding it up to prevent it getting wet.
- Κλεῖς: Sappho's daughter, mentioned *Fr.* 85, where the MSS read Κλεῖς, but a trochee is required.
σάων: for the σ-form cf. σῶ Alc. 74; we are told that Sappho used the form *Μοισάων* *Fr.* 164, cf. also my note on I. 23.
γρύταν: cf. *Fr.* 156 and Mahaffy *Flinders-Petrie Papr.* ii. 32. 27 (Herwerden *Lexicon Suppl.* s.v.).
- ἐββάλη: i.e. ἐπιβαλεῖ, 'shall put upon thee'; see note on ἐππαν above.
- πορφύριον: may scan as 4 or 3 syllables; in either case -ον must be followed by a consonant.
- κάλθος: this I take to be a masculine form of the flower-name *caltha* of Vergil *Ecl.* 2. 50. Prudentius uses a neuter form *calthum*.
- φρύσσον: perhaps aorist imperative of φρύγω, Attic φρύζον.

γ. The third piece is written on the back of the fragmentary page which contains the first. We accordingly have only the ends of the lines. By a comparison of the two sides of the page I conclude that the lines were of about the same length in both poems, and I believe the metre to be the same. In line 4 *μῖαν* seems to be for *μειᾶν*, the earlier part of the word being lost. In line 8 *ὄξυ βοῶν* gives a parallel to *ἔλθην ὄξυ βόαι* in II. 19. In line 9 *οὐκὶ* is an interesting form; cf. in III. 8 the MS *οὐκ' οὐτω*. In the same line the form *βάρυ* is decisive against the equation *βόρηται* = *βαρεῖται* in II. 18 (on a page from the same MS book), and so indirectly supports my interpretation of *βόρηται* as 'devours.'

Text:

.
] γ.[
] ω
] μοι ἀναξ
] μῖαν ἦχον
 5] παρθενίαν
] ὀρρώδων ὑπεραν
] φεν . . αβ.ωξ. . φ . . .
] εφραν ἄρ' ὄξυ βοῶν δ'
] παφ. ηξξ νῦξ οὐκὶ βάρυ
 10

My thanks are due to Dr. W. Schubart, of the Königlische Museen, Berlin, for very kindly furnishing me with excellent photographs of the above fragments.

J. M. EDMONDS.

AN IMPORTANT INSCRIPTION RELATING TO THE SOCIAL WAR.

IN June of last year Professor Gatti, with equal perspicacity and good fortune, acquired for the municipal collections of Rome a bronze plate (with holes for the nails by which it was once fixed to a wall), bearing an inscription of singular interest and importance, which is now to be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Professor Gatti's publication of it has just appeared in the third part of the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1908, pp. 169 sqq., with a full-size photograph. The plate measures 29 cm. (11 in.) high, and 51 to 52 cm. (20 in.) long; and the inscription contains two decrees issued, as we shall see, in camp before Asculum at the end of 90 B.C. by Cn. Pompeius Strabo as commander of the Roman forces in Picenum during the Social War, conferring Roman citizenship and certain other rewards on some members of a Spanish troop of auxiliary cavalry, the *turma Salluitana*.

Of the first few lines of the inscription only about one-third, on the left, is preserved: but the rest is practically complete. It begins as follows (according to Professor Gatti's restoration):

[C]n. Pompeius Sex. [f. imperator infra scriptos¹]

¹ Professor Bormann suggests *turmae Salluitanae*.

equites Hispanos ceives [Romanos, virtutis causa de consili sententia pronuntiavit] ex lege Iulia. In consilio [fuerunt].

Then follows a list of the *consilium*, sixty in number, as can be calculated from the space occupied in the lines now lost, the greater part of the names being preserved. The praenomen, nomen, the father's praenomen and tribe are alone given. A fair proportion of them seem to belong to Picenum itself, no less than eleven being members of the *tribus Velina*.

So far the inscription has run right across the plate. We now come to the list of the soldiers of the *turma Salluitana*, arranged in three columns, leaving a space in the right bottom corner, of which we shall speak later. The name itself is conjectured by Professor Gatti (and probably he is right) to be identical with Salduba, Salduva, or Salduvia (the MSS. vary), which, as Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 24) tells us, was the former name of Caesar-augusta, the modern Saragossa. In the case of the first four of the soldiers mentioned, unlike the rest, the place of origin is not stated, and Professor Bormann has suggested that they were the officers in command, the commander of the troop and the three *decuriones*. To the names of the other

twenty-six the place or tribe to which they belonged is added: some of these local names are unknown, but all that are known occur in Pliny's list of the principal tribes of the *conventus* of the district of Caesaraugusta, so that we may assume that the rest belonged to the same district. The names are all purely barbaric, and interesting to the philologist.

The space in the lower right-hand corner of the plate is occupied by the text of the second decree, by which certain rewards were conferred on the soldiers of the troop for their valour—*Cn. Pompeius Sex. f. imperator | virtutis caussa turmam | Salluitanam donavit in | castris apud Asculum | cornuculo et patella torque | armilla palereis (sic) et frumenium (sic) | duplex.*

An important difference may be noticed at once between the two decrees: in the first, conferring the citizenship, the grant is made with the approval of the *consilium*, which normally consisted of all the military tribunes present and the chief centurion (*primuspilus*) of each legion (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i³. 316), and, no doubt, in virtue of special provisions contained in the *lex Iulia* of 90 B.C. For the second, no such approval was needed, the ordinary powers included in the *imperium* being sufficient. The interesting particular is here added, that the gift was made 'in camp before Asculum' (modern Ascoli Piceno). That both decrees were promulgated at the same time, there is no doubt; and as there is no mention of Pompeius being consul, which he became in 89 B.C., the inscription must belong to the

end of 90 B.C., *i.e.* to the beginning of the siege of Asculum, whither after the victory of Pompeius over Lafrenius at Firmum the survivors of the defeated Piceni took refuge. Of the gifts mentioned, that of the *cornuculum* is known to us from a passage of Livy (x. 61), where, coupled with the bracelet (both being in that case of silver), it was given to cavalry soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the third Samnite war. Of the gift of the *patella* (probably also of silver), or small patera for libations, no other case appears to be known, except that of the gift to Probus in his youth of a patera weighing five pounds, among other rewards, for conspicuous bravery in the Sarmatian war (Vopiscus, *Vita Probi*, 5, 1). The other ornaments are well known, and were constantly given as rewards of valour, and the gift of double rations of corn (or double pay, as it later on came to mean) was so frequent that the term *duplarius* or *duplicarius* is often met with in inscriptions of the imperial period.

The exact provenance of this inscription is not known, but there is no doubt that it was one of the many original documents which were kept on the Capitol, only a few fragmentary specimens of which had hitherto been known, and those all now preserved in Naples. As Professor Gatti remarks, with justifiable pride, this is the only specimen of its kind now in Rome, and has fitly found a resting-place once more on the very hill where it was originally preserved.

THOMAS ASHBY.

REVIEWS

THE COINAGE OF THE AGE OF CONSTANTINE.

Numismatique Constantinienne. By JULES MAURICE. Paris: Leroux, 1908. Tome I. Pp. clxxix + 507. With 23 plates.

EUSEBIUS begins his life of Constantine the Great by an expression of his feelings as to the great and universal interest of the subject,

'for whether,' he says, 'I look to the East or the West, or cast my eyes over all the world, I see the blessed Emperor present everywhere.' Some such feeling may have been awakened in the breasts of numismatists who for several years past have been accustomed to note, in all the principal numismatic

periodicals of the world, the appearance of articles by M. Maurice dealing with the money that was used 'pendant la période Constantinienne.' Such articles have been welcomed as the first successful attempt to grapple in a scientific way with an enormously complicated mass of detail—types, mints, dates and legends—and also as being the evident outcome of widely extended numismatic research and of unusual knowledge of the political and financial history of the period during which the coins were issued.

There was one regret arising from M. Maurice's piece-meal method—no doubt inevitable—of publishing his studies: the whole series seemed in every sense of the word to require binding together, and needed a general introductory article which would summarize and explain results. But by the publication of the present exhaustive and amplified work the author has completely removed any such occasion of regret. In the volume before us (which will be followed by a second volume) we have first of all an Introduction which deals with the various denominations of the coinage and the constitution of the mints, and an elaborate chronology of the Constantine period, of which both the literary and the numismatic evidence form the basis. Then follows a long chapter on the imperial Iconography, and finally a detailed description of the coins struck at the various imperial mints. Of these mints there were no less than nineteen. In the first volume the output of the mints of Rome, Ostia, Aquileia, Carthage and Trèves is described; in the second, we shall have a description of the remaining fourteen mints and—may we hope?—a good index.

Any of us who have been prone to regard the coinage of Constantine as a conglomeration of somewhat banal types and heterogeneous legends may require M. Maurice's reminder that these coins were official issues, and that all the important acts of the imperial government are indicated by their legends or by the striking of special types and denominations. Thus, the date of the foundation of Constantinople—'le baptême de la nouvelle capitale'—may be fixed by the inscription CONST(antinopolis) which

is found in the exergue of coins struck in A.D. 324. The actual inauguration of the city, as city, is celebrated, after May 11, 330, by the issue of coins bearing the personification of Constantinople; and only after this date did the imperial court move to its new centre. Again, the celebration of imperial anniversaries is marked by the issue of coins with special types; and we have similar contemporary records of the visits of the Emperor to Rome, of meetings of Emperors, of victories over the barbarians, of the first appearance of a new Caesar or a new Augustus. But such types, however curious in themselves, only become fully instructive when they are arranged not merely according to subject, or, as in Cohen's work, alphabetically according to the legends, but *chronologically*. The determination of the chronology is thus of high importance, and is a salient feature of M. Maurice's monograph.

I am obliged to pass over the sections on denominations and on the highly elaborate constitution of the mints, though with regard to the latter it may be remarked that a principal characteristic of Diocletian's monetary reforms was his multiplication of mints. He found only eight in operation and set as many more in motion, some, indeed, only alternately. Under Constantine, the highest number reached was nineteen. M. Maurice has necessarily paid special attention to mint-marks and secret mint-marks—to the fairly obvious RP and RS, the first and second workshops (*prima, secunda, officina*) of the mint of Rome, and to more recondite marks like I and H, which, being interpreted, mean Jovius and Hercules, and refer to Diocletian and Maximian. Many Christian symbols seem also to figure as the symbols and secret-marks of mint-officials, when the times were favourable, as between the years 320 and 324, when Constantine legislated in favour of the Church.

The chronological lists are, as I have already indicated, minute and valuable, and include a list of the imperial titles as they vary from year to year, and these titles, brought together chronologically, set forth in firm outline the political changes of the period, and offer a welcome clue to the exits and entrances of the enormous *cast* of the

imperial drama. In 309 there were six Augusti, but an Emperor does not necessarily strike coins in the name of his colleagues, and the absence of coins is sometimes as instructive as their existence. For instance, Maxentius isolated in Italy, and Alexander at Carthage, strike only in their own names: Constantine strikes for all the four leading Augusti but not for Galerius, who had refused *him* the title of Augustus.

If the *Classical Review* were a purely numismatic periodical it would be desirable to extend considerably this notice of a book which furnishes invaluable material both to the historian and the student of coins; but it may be sufficient, in conclusion, to say something of the chapter that deals with portraiture, more especially as being likely to interest those readers who may not have followed M. Maurice's researches when they first appeared.

Most archaeological writers, including Cohen and Bernoulli, have remarked on the great difficulty, or impossibility, of ascertaining from coins the true portraiture of the Emperor Diocletian and his successors of the period of Constantine. M. Babelon, indeed, published a most enlightening study of the portraits of a later Emperor (Julian), but it has been reserved for M. Maurice to deal with the whole subject in detail, and, what is more, to discover the secret. The view that there are no true portraits discoverable on the coins seems at first sight to be justified by the fact that we find the most diverse effigies accompanied by the name of one and the same Emperor. But this apparent difficulty vanishes when the coins are carefully sorted (as by M. Maurice) under mints and periods. Then, it becomes evident that there was at least a method in the apparent vagaries of the different mint-masters in their choice of effigies. The whole subject is extremely complicated, but it may be made clear by observing what took place at the beginning of the period when this practice arose of putting forth a single effigy bearing the names of varying Emperors.

We are first on solid ground in the period 17 Nov. 284–1 April 285, when the Empire had but one ruler—Diocletian. Coins that belong to this period obviously

can give us only the portrait of Diocletian. But on 1 April 285 Diocletian took as colleague an 'Augustus' Maximian Hercules. The new Augustus had the West for his sphere, and accordingly in the Western mints we find a new head inscribed with Maximian's name. But in the Eastern mints, those within the sphere of Diocletian, we note that such coins as are issued with the name of Maximian are accompanied by the portrait of *Diocletian*. The Eastern mints not having received the model of Maximian's portrait presented Diocletian's, but at the same time recognized Maximian by encircling it with Maximian's name. So, then, the Western mints give us a true portrait of Maximian; the Eastern mints (in spite of their accompanying inscription) do not. With regard to the coins issued in the name of Diocletian during this period, we find the true portrait of that Emperor both in his own Eastern sphere and in the Western mints of Maximian, the reason for this being that Diocletian's effigy was already in use throughout all the imperial mints *before* the accession of Maximian.

Lastly, in order to carry the complication a little further, we pass on to the year 293, when to the two Augusti were added two Caesars, namely, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius. Each of these Caesars strikes coins in his own name and also in that of his colleague. But here, again, the name around the portrait does not invariably serve as the correct label. For Constantius, in his own mint of London, places his own head on all the coins, even on those struck in the name of Galerius; and, on the other hand, the coins struck by Galerius, in his own mint of Siscia, bear solely the effigy of Galerius, even in the case of coins struck by him in the name of his colleague Constantius. The reason for this substitution of portraits no doubt was that the mint-masters of the two Caesars did not exchange the Caesars' portraits, and had to be content with inscribing a name that did not belong to the portrait that they utilized. These clues to an apparent maze of portraiture having been obtained, it is possible to construct the real iconography of the Emperors and Caesars; and with respect to the general character of the por-

traits, M. Maurice remarks that the coins are not without artistic value, and that they are (apparently) fairly characteristic. An analysis (illustrated by the plates) of the portraiture of

each imperial personage brings all the details of the evidence before the reader.

WARWICK WROTH.

'DIVINI ELEMENTA POETAE.'

Appendix Vergiliana. Recognovit et annotatione critica instruxit R. ELLIS. Oxonii: e Typ. Clarend. 1907. (Pages not numbered.)

Poeti Latini Minori. Testo Critico: Commentato: da G. CURCIO. Vol. ii, fasc. 2. *Appendix Vergiliana* (Dirae, Lydia, Ciris). Pp. 198 + xv. Catania: Battiato, 1908.

VERGIL'S '*Frühzeit*' has just now a peculiar fascination for Latin scholars: and whether the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana* are or are not, any of them, Vergilian, they most of them belong to 'Vergil's *Frühzeit*,' and a respectable text of them is the necessary preliminary to a study of that fascinating period. This, thanks to Prof. Ellis, we now possess. The limitations of Ribbeck's text are well known. Baehrens' edition seems to be out of print; and, though Prof. Ellis pronounced it on its appearance to be a great advance on Ribbeck, I have never been able to see that, save in the direction of simplification (in the Apparatus), Baehrens did any great service to the text of the pseudo-Vergiliana, apart from the clever and certain correction, *coccina* for *cognita*, at *Ciris* 169. In any case Prof. Ellis' text will at once supersede its predecessors. Not only are his collations new (correcting those of other scholars at a great many points), but his recension has been made with great tact and prudence, and with that consideration for others from which alone can be born a workable text. Indeed, as a textual critic Prof. Ellis is perhaps here seen at his best. In emendation he has never been more felicitous, and that in poems where scholars like Scaliger constantly dissatisfy, and where Sillig is probably as successful as anyone. Among emendations of Ellis' which I think certain are *Ciris* 321 *praes sit* (for *pressit*): 323

commenta: *Moretum* 15 *plausa* (for *clausa*): *Culex* 62 *feruent* (*fuertint* codd.), 140 *fleta* (*laeta* codd.), 274 *ecfossasque*. And scattered up and down the Apparatus are a number of less certain conjectures, which I should pronounce superior to those of previous editors. Some suggestions do not appeal: as the notion of an old English gloss *ēgor* at *Ciris* 481: *ibidem* 249 *scora*: *Culex* 221 *lurent* (a word which Mr. Housman introduces into Ovid, but which is otherwise strange to the best Latin poets). At *Ciris* 218 Ellis retains '*nutantia*' *sidera mundi*, but it can hardly bear the sense 'bickering' which he gives to it (*A.J.P.* xv. p. 479). The stars are part of a *convexo* '*nutans*' *pondere mundus* (*Ecl.* iv. 50). At 303 *ibid.* the view (which seems to me certain: so too Prof. Hardie) that a line has been lost at least deserved mention. At *Culex* 264 V's *ā* points, I think, not to *causa* (Ellis), but merely to the *cura* of the other MSS.: *ā* as a contraction for *cura* is found also at Tibullus 3. 2. 25.

In the selection of MSS. upon which to base his texts Ellis has followed a middle course. He has not overwhelmed us with the readings of MSS. worth nothing; and he has at the same time given the student of the text as much as he can want. It is in the *Culex* that he is perhaps most open to criticism.¹ To my mind, we could quite well have dispensed with the readings of G and F. Their claims to independent value seems to me to rest solely on 51, where Ellis, with them, reads *ripis*. But even here the parallel which Skutsch cites from Ovid *Rem. Am.* 178-180 tells strongly in favour of *rupes*. F again adds nothing of value to B. With regard to Vossianus 81 (Voss.), I do not quite understand Ellis' position. Baehrens

¹ This was written before the appearance of Mr. Housman's paper on the MSS. of the *Culex*.

perceived the great worth of this late MS. But, since Baehrens, the value of Voss. has very much gone down, owing to Ellis' discovery of V, an earlier and better MS. to which Voss. is very closely related. Is Voss. (in the *Culex*) a copy of (or directly derived from) V? If it is, we can at once dismiss it. If it is not, its every variant is worth citing. Ellis cites it only rarely. Yet at 237, 269 (*pene* Voss. = *paenene*: Ellis does not note this), 273, 308, 340, 378, 379, Voss. alone has the true reading, and V has lost it. These passages constitute a strong claim to independence, and seem to me to entitle Voss. to a greater consideration than Ellis has allowed it. In some places Ellis has failed to record the reading of V, so that a comparison with Voss. is often not possible. On the whole, I incline to think that Ellis would have given us a better and simpler text of *Culex*, if he had confined himself to B and V with Voss. Cors. Cant. But many people will no doubt dissent from this; and everyone will agree that in Ellis' edition of the *Appendix* as a whole we have the only readable text that exists.

The most important part of Curcio's book is the *Ciris*. In his text of the *Ciris* Curcio employs (though he had not seen Ellis' work) the same six MSS. as Ellis, though Ellis is wiser in that 'parcius adhibuit' Curcio's H and L. Curcio's Apparatus is far less compact and readable than Ellis'; and, as a textual critic, he has not much of his own to offer. Often I think his judgment rather wooden: e.g. 155 *furando* for *iurando* is not bright: why not finish, and write *fure* for *iure*? At 185 the retention of *serum* is hardly credible. At the same time Curcio's text, though his judgment is often thus stiff and heavy, is a careful and meritorious piece of work. The Commentary is slight and disappointing. Such notes as those at 5-7, 63, 88—to take three much vexed passages—not only do not explain, they do not even state, the difficulties. Some notes again are otiose: e.g. 46 (where,

if a note was wanted at all, it was worth mentioning that the phrase, *multum uigilata*, is found outside the *Ciris*): 165 *Edonum*: 226 *sanguine suffundit*. Such notes, once more, as 108 *recrepat*: 'transitive,' are not very scholarly. The most interesting portion of the volume is the Introductions. They put one in possession of most of the problems raised by the poems, and, if the author is rather loth to make up his own mind about anything, he yet gives the reader the materials for forming an independent judgment. The sections in *Dirae* and *Lydia*, as well as in *Ciris*, on Language, Style, Affinity with other poets, Metre, etc., are all skilful and useful work. In particular, the table of affinities between *Ciris* and other Latin poets is a great improvement on that of Baehrens, though often (e.g. *Dirae* 80 = *Ecl.* 9. 2) Curcio sees borrowing where there is none. Reviewing at length Skutsch's contentions as to the authorship of *Ciris* (with Leo's rejoinder) Curcio himself pronounces for an unknown author. Let me offer here one suggestion *pro* Skutsch and *contra* Leo. Leo urges that *Eclogue* vi cannot be a catalogue of Gallus' poems, because it is addressed to Varus. But Servius knows of ancient critics who held that *Ecl.* vi. originally stood first in Virgil's collection. In that case,

(1) *Ecl.* vi. (as the first in the book) is naturally concerned with Gallus' poems, since Gallus was Virgil's only predecessor in the Latin Idyll or Eclogue.

(2) The introductory lines to Varus are not so much an Introduction to *Ecl.* vi. as a dedication of the whole volume. Moreover, the story—whatever its historical value—that this *Eclogue* was recited in the theatre by Cytheris = Lycoris at least shows that at a very early period it was regarded as a poem in honour of Gallus. I notice these points because I have not seen them noticed elsewhere, and because Curcio's volume hardly does full justice to Skutsch's theory.

H. W. GARROD.

INDOGERMANIC NUMERALS.

Die Distributiven und die Kollektiven Numeralia der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Von K. BRUGMANN. Mit einem Anhang von EDUARD SIEVERS. Altnordisch tvenn(i)r þrenn(i)r, fernir, from Vol. XXV. of the 'Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.' Leipzig: D. G. Teubner, 1907. M. 3.60.

THIS work is of great interest both to the student of Comparative Philology in its exposition of the origin and use of these numerals in the Indogermanic languages, and also to the Classical student in its clear statements of many points in Greek and Latin usage, which have hitherto been only too vaguely apprehended; in particular several difficult uses of the so-called distributives (*bini*, etc.) are explained by a careful consideration of their collective origin. The main results of the book are the following. The true distributives are first dealt with. Here Brugmann finds three principles:

(i) The Iterative. Skr. *ēka ēkas* is the type. Class. Gk. *μία μία* (*δύο δύο* etc. are later). As a later development forms joined by 'and' are found, e.g. O.E. *twaem ond twaem*.

(ii) The use with a pronoun: Gk. *ἐἷς ἕκαστος*. Lat. *unus quisque*. Irish *cach oen*, 'quisque unus.'

(iii) The use with prepositions: Skr. *prati*, e.g. *praty ēkam*, 'one by one.' Gk. *κατὰ, ἀνὰ* etc. The Gk. *κατὰ* through its use in Patristic Latin comes out in Romance, e.g. Ital. *cada uno*, 'one by one.'

Connected with (iii) is the use of the Vedic suffix *-sas*, e.g. Skr. *ēka -sas*, 'one by one.' There can be little doubt that it is identical with Gk. *-kas* in *ἐ-κάς, ἀνδρα-κάς*. With regard to its origin, which is disputed, Brugmann's theory is that it is from *†kns* from a root *kens-* seen in Lat. *cēnsēo*, Gk. *κόσμος* from *†κονσμος*. Vedic *sāsa-ti* 'counts,'—so that the original meaning was 'according to a fixed measure or order,'—seems likely to be the true one. Possibly

the form itself was once really an Imperative 'count one,' 'count two.'

In dealing with the Collective numerals (under this heading are included (1) forms which have both the Collective meaning and a later acquired Distributive meaning, and also (2) forms which though Collective in origin have become merely Distributive), Brugmann first considers the formative elements;—three in number, *-o*, *-no* and *-go* added to the cardinal.

(i) The forms in *-o*; Indg. *†dueio-*, *†dúeio-*; *treio-*, *troio-*; *-bheio-*, *-bhoio*. Vedic adj. *dvaya-s*, 'two-fold'; subst. *dvayam*, 'duplicity'; *traya-s*, 'three-fold'; *ubhaya-s*, 'both.' Lat. *bes* and *bessis*, *†be[i]-essis* from *dueio-* with elision of the last vowel of the stem, so *tressis* from *†treio-essis*; *†quetuero*, *quetuoro*. In Aryan only found in the Vedic substantive *catvarā-m*.

As regards the Lat. *decuria*, Brugmann dismisses Schulze's conjecture of a stem *†deku-*, and advances a theory which can hardly be doubted, namely that the form arose analogically from *†q^{et}etur-iīā*; so that while the ending *-eriīā* spread to '5,' e.g. Unbr. *pumperiā*, in the form *-uriīa* it spread to '10' and '100.'

(ii) The forms in *-no*:

bini from *†bisno-*; *terni* from *†trisno-*; *quaterni* from *†quattrisno* (or analogical after *terni*?); *sēni* from *†secsno-*; *quini* from *quincsn-*; *septēni* from *†septensno-*; *octoni* from *†octōsno-*; *noueni* from *†novensno* (probably the *-sno-* form of the suffix started from *†bisno-*, *†trisno-*, *†secsno-*).

With regard to the forms for 'seven,' 'eight' and 'nine'; regularly we should have *†septsno-* becoming *†sesno-* and that *†seno-*; *†octsno-* becoming *†osno-* and that *†ōno-*, *†nounsno-* becoming *nuno-*. Clearly forms which were so far from the cardinal and in which, moreover, the expressions for 'six' and 'seven' had become identical, were not likely to survive. The survival of *deni* may be due partly to the fact that it appeared also in the forms *undeni*, *duodeni*; moreover,

it was not likely to be confused with any other number.

As regards the double forms *terni* and *trini*, *quaterni* and *quadrini*, Brugmann points out that they are distinguished in use; *terni*, *quaterni* are used as Distributives, though the Collective function is not entirely foreign to them; *trini*, *quadrini*, are used as Collectives. Bini combines both these functions and for it Brugmann postulates a double origin;—in its acquired use as Distributive from †*duisno*-, as Collective from †*duino* or †*dueino*-. From †*bisnoi*, †*trisnoi*, the -sno suffix as we have seen passed to the numbers from '5' onwards, and these acquired a distributive meaning at the same time as †*bisnoi* etc., without however losing their collective meaning. The form *alterni* might have had some influence in the use of *terni*, *quaterni* as Distributives. Corresponding to †*duisno* is O.H.G. *zwirnēn*, *zwirnon*. To †*duino*- and †*trino*- correspond O.H.G. *zwinal*, *zwinel*, *zwenel*, 'gemellus' and Mod. H.G. *drell*, 'linen woven with three threads.' If a criticism may be ventured, these German forms seem rather a slight basis for the creation of †*dueino*- as well as †*duisno*-.

(iii) -qo- forms are represented in Vedic Skt. *dvikas*, 'aus Zweien bestehend' and O.H.G. *zweisk*, 'zweifach.'

In discussing the various uses of the Collective and Distributive forms, Brugmann brings forward many interesting points.

Forms in -o, -no and -qo had or acquired a Collective meaning outside the numerals,

e.g. Skt. *asvam* beside *asvas*, Gk. ἱππικόν beside ἵππος; these Collective nouns are, like the numerals, neuter. As regards the use of †(d)kṛnto-m, '100' (where it is an elliptical expression for a 'ten of tens'), Brugmann notes that it is found in its original meaning of 'a group of ten' in Gothic, *sibuntē hund* etc., 'a ten of sevens,' i.e. 70. In Aryan and Slavonic this neuter numeral is found with a genitive plural (in Aryan appearing as a compound, e.g. Skt. *go-dvayam*), but in both these groups we find the adjective use of the numeral as well, while in Italic and Germanic the substantive is only used absolutely, the adjective supplying its place in other cases. Both these constructions are probably Indogermanic, the substantive use was the earlier.

Lastly, the Distributive use is treated: the question is how Latin came to prefer the Collective in this use to the Cardinal and to make it the rule; in Greek we find a parallel use of σὸν with the Cardinal, where the explanation is as doubtful as that of the use of *bini* etc. in Latin. It is in Latin only that the Collective is regularly used as Distributive; in the other Indg. languages it is only an occasional phenomenon.

In discussing the Gk. δοιοί and δολῶ Brugmann inclines to think that they too were collective in origin, and this seems very probable, although the evidence is not sufficient to afford a proof. One can only say in conclusion that this is a work which fully repays the most careful study and consideration.

S. E. JACKSON.

PURITY IN GREEK AND LATIN STYLE.

Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός. By C. N. SMILEY. Wisconsin, 1906.

THE author of this thesis attempts to estimate the influence of the 'Stoic theory of style,' as seen in the writings of Dionysius, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Fronto, Aulus Gellius, and Sextus Empiricus. His purpose is to show that the Stoic theory persisted as a strong literary influence at

Rome for a period of two hundred years after the death of Cicero, and that it was always at war with what he terms the 'Ciceronian or rhetorical' style.

The whole question of Ἑλληνισμός is, as the author knows, beset by many uncertainties. The first enunciation of a doctrine of the kind is supposed to be found in Diogenes Laertius' life of Zeno (vii. 59), where it is attributed to Diogenes the Stoic

of Babylon and teacher of Panaetius: 'Ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε· Ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. Ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαῖα συνηθεία. σαφήνεια δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις γνωρίμως παριστῶσα τὸ νοούμενον. συντομία δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος. πρέπον δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι. κατασκευή δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφηνυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν. Mr. Smiley suggests that the reason why the first virtue gave its name to the theory as a whole was that it includes all the others. But, to waive other difficulties, the inclusion of κατασκευή in the list is unexpected, if κατασκευή be understood in its ordinary sense, as the definition λέξις ἐκπεφηνυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν (together with Herodian's κυριολογία and εἰσυνθεσία) seems clearly to prove that it should be. In fact, Ἑλληνισμός becomes so comprehensive a quality that the possession of it, or of its Latin counterpart, would assuredly be claimed by the eclectic Cicero, who does not fail to see that pure Latin must be the basis of all elegance in style: 'neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat; nec sperare, qui Latine non possit, hunc ornate esse dicturum (*de Orat.* iii. 10, 38).'

With regard to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author rightly says that he disapproved of any adornment of style for which purity, precision, clearness, or conciseness must be sacrificed,—that he preferred, in Attic oratory, the simple style of Lysias to the embellished style of Isocrates. But what we miss is any proof that, in referring so often to καθαρὰ ἑρμηνεία and the like, Dionysius admits that he is following in Stoic footsteps. He does, indeed, mention

(*de Isocr.* c. 13) that, among others, the Stoic dialectician Philonicus had criticised certain wearisome features in the style of Isocrates. But elsewhere (*de Comp. Verb.* c. 4) he expresses great disappointment with the Stoics, regarded not as dialecticians or grammarians but as authorities on the artistic arrangement of words; and yet εἰσυνθεσία is supposed, as we have seen, to have formed part of the Stoic doctrine of style. The general impression left upon the mind is that, though there are many points of contact between the writings of Dionysius and what is represented as the Stoic theory of style, Dionysius himself felt that, in these matters, he was following a longer and higher tradition than the Stoic.

The question, however, needed discussion; and it has been well discussed by Mr. Smiley. If space allowed, it would be pleasant to follow him in the pages he devotes to the other authors on his list. Whether we agree with his conclusions or not, his treatment of the points at issue is full of interest and suggestion, and exhibits that wide and sound knowledge of ancient rhetoric which might be expected in a pupil of Professor G. L. Hendrickson. Rhetorical studies seem to have a wide vogue in America. And this is all to the good, so long as a knowledge of the technique of literature aids rather than impedes the appreciation and production of literature itself. The terms Ἑλληνισμός and *Latinitas* should, at all events, suggest that, in our own common language, there is a purity to guard, and one all the more worth guarding when that language is still at the height of its vigour and its influence.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments: Die Abhängigkeit des ältesten Christentums von nichtjüdischen Religionen und philosophischen Systemen zusammenfassend untersucht von PROF. LIC. DR.

CARL CLEMEN. Mit 12 Abbildungen auf zwei Tafeln. Pp. viii, 301. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1909. Price 10 M.

AMONG the questions which at present engage the attention of New Testament

students, one of the most important is certainly that of reconstructing the religious environment in which primitive Christianity developed and tracing its influence on the new religion. It is of course a commonplace that the Gospel, both as proclaimed by Jesus and in the form given to it by the original Apostles and Paul, was largely dependent on the religion of Israel and the contemporary Judaism. That Jesus Himself was indebted to foreign sources has been generally denied by those most competent to express an opinion. And the Old Testament and the simple piety of the common people were far more important factors in His religious training than Jewish scholasticism. But while the primitive Gospel was untouched by influences from abroad, these influences began to play on the religion at a pretty early point. It can hardly be denied that the Epistle to the Hebrews owes its fundamental conception to the Jewish Platonism of Alexandria, and many scholars would say the same of the Logos doctrine in the Fourth Gospel, though others would put in a claim for the Hermetic literature. It has for long been keenly debated whether Paul was much indebted to Greek thought.

But recently the question has entered on a new phase. A band of very able and enthusiastic scholars, of whom Gunkel, Bousset, and Heitmüller may be named as among the most active, explain much in the New Testament as due directly or indirectly to the religious syncretism of the time. The astral religion of Babylonia, the dualism of Persia, the mystical cults of Asia Minor and the theology of Egypt had been blended together, and possibly India itself had contributed to the amalgam. Scholars are divided on the question whether Christianity borrowed from these directly or indirectly. Dieterich, for example, found no difficulty in supposing that the story of the heavenly woman, the dragon and the man-child, which we read in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, was simply borrowed from the similar story of the birth of Apollo. Gunkel, on the contrary, argued that the writer could not have consciously taken over a myth in this way from

heathenism. He assumed accordingly that it had come to him through Judaism, having passed through a long process of purification in that religion. He postulated a Babylonian origin for the myth. The story of the persecution of the mother of the sun-god by the dragon of chaos and darkness with the birth and triumph of the sun-god seems to have been very widespread. This is a sample of what the advocates of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Methode* as it is called apply to a great deal of the New Testament. For example, they consider that the advanced Christological dogma which we find in the Pauline Epistles can be accounted for only on the theory that a very developed Messianic theology had already been formed in Judaism and, since the Christians regarded Jesus as the Messiah, was transferred by them to Him without more ado.

Inasmuch then as the exponents of this method are extremely active in Germany, and the question is among the most important that can engage the student of Christian origins, Clemen's work deserves a very warm welcome. He is himself a very eminent theologian who has gained his reputation not only in the field of the New Testament but of Systematic and Practical Theology. He has more familiarity with non-German literature than most of his countrymen, and he has done a good deal of work in the study of Comparative Religion. His book is excellently planned, and in spite of some lacunae shows remarkable familiarity with the relevant literature. The general principles which he lays down are thoroughly sound; indeed were it not that experience shows how lightly they are transgressed, one could have imagined that some of them might have been left to native common sense without explicit formulation. The introduction briefly sketches the history and defines the method of this type of investigation and then deals with its pre-suppositions. The body of the book falls into two main divisions, a general and a special. The former, after a discussion of the question as it affects Christianity in general, examines the individual doctrines and rites, first those borrowed from Judaism

and then those that are specifically Christian. The special portion deals first with the life and teaching of Jesus, paying particular attention to the infancy narratives, then with the Pauline, and finally with the Johannine theology. When we remember how in this subject in particular far-reaching hypotheses have been erected on the flimsiest evidence we may well be grateful for a work so cautious in its method, so free from prejudice and desire to make out a case, so

moderate in its conclusions. If a word of criticism may be permitted on this painstaking and balanced enquiry it would be that on some points needless concessions are made to the method which he submits to such careful examination. In view of the really wild statements which are industriously circulated in England at the present time it would be a good thing if the book could be translated.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

CICERO'S FOURTH VERRINE ORATION.

Cicero's Fourth Verrine Oration. Richter-Eberhard, revised (4th edition) by HERMANN NOHL. Teubner, 1908.

(*Cicero's Rede gegen C. Verres.* Viertes Buch für den Schul- und Privat-Gebrauch erklärt von Fr. Richter und Alfred Eberhard in Vierter Auflage bearbeitet von Hermann Nohl.)

THIS is an up-to-date edition of a useful and well-known volume. Apart from the commentary, the most valuable feature of the work is H. Nohl's critical appendix, consisting of 14 closely printed pages, in which the editor undertakes to say to advanced students the last word that can be said on the problems of the text. With these he shows a thorough familiarity. It is perhaps a little odd that the appendix should be introduced by a somewhat obsolete 'stemma' of the MSS.—very slightly altered from that which appeared in Nohl's edition of 1885. If this were the place for proof, it could easily be shown that G¹, for example, does not deserve the place which Nohl continues to assign to it in his classification (v. *Journ. Phil.* xxx. p. 183). And indeed there is no longer any reason—as the editor seems himself to have realised in practice—for citing G¹, G², Ld. at all in connection with the detailed criticism of Books IV. and V. They have been superseded by the identification of their first parent S (Par. 7775). Of this MS., however, Nohl has little to say that is good. He considers it a copy of R (Reg. Par. 7774 A), and pronounces it to be 'für die Kritik der 4 Rede wertlos.' After this *ex cathedra* pronouncement, it may well surprise even a casual reader to find that Nohl's practice does not accord with his theory, and that, as a matter of fact, he almost invariably cites the readings of S, as given in the Oxford text, along with those of R. The citations are in the main correct, though there is a wrong attribution in § 102 (*at minime mirum* S) and *ex iis* S must be a misprint at § 106. On the other hand, the authority of S should have been invoked for *at videte* § 151 as it is for *modo ut bona ratione* § 10, *ipsi se* § 87, and elsewhere.

The excuse for Nohl's attitude to S is that he is dealing with S only so far as the Fourth Book is concerned. This sort of piecemeal work has of course its disadvantages: it is just as if a student were to attempt to deal with the criticism of the Verrines as a whole, though competent in only a portion of the text. Considering, however, that the emergence of S has sufficed to banish from his critical apparatus all references to G¹, G² and Ld., of which he made so considerable a use in his first edition (1885), Nohl need not have protested so strongly against the statement that S 'must be elevated to the very first rank among MSS. of the Verrines.' His view that S has no authority independently of R may be compared with the facts as set forth in *J. Ph.* xxx. pp. 195 *sqq.* And even if S were merely, as Nohl thinks, a copy of R, and therefore practically superfluous for Books IV. and V. (where R still exists) it is different in the case of the earlier books, which no longer form part of R. For these books (*i.e.* the *Divinatio*, the *Actio Prima*, and Lib. I.) S gives the key to the whole situation, along with its copy D, and the mention of this fact—so carefully ignored by Nohl—should be enough to justify the place claimed for it by recent students of the text of the Verrines as a whole (v. *J. Ph.* xxx. 163 *sqq.*).

A good deal of Nohl's otherwise laudable endeavour to secure a true text is spoiled by his inability to understand a point of view that differs from his own. He becomes in places even satirical. I take as an instance § 125. The mistake of attributing *erant* to the MSS. instead of *erat* was made by Nohl himself and will be found on p. 63 of his 1885 edition. In this error he was preceded by Eberhard, and followed by C. F. W. Müller: it is repeated even in the Halm-Laubmann edition (1900). Now that Nohl has reminded us that, as stated already in the Zürich edition, the MS. reading is *erat*, not *erant*, there is all the less reason for deleting the words to which most German editors have taken exception in this part of the speech—*quod erat eius modi ut semel vidisse satis esset*. They may even be made to serve

as a lesson in construing. Nohl asks incredulously 'Worauf soll sich der Sing. (*erat*) beziehen'? The answer is to be found in the *id* at the end of the paragraph. Perhaps the following method of setting forth a disputed passage may commend the MS. reading to impartial students:

'Etiamne gramineas hastas—vidi enim vos in hoc nomine, cum testis diceret, commoveri: quod erat eius modi ut semel vidisse satis esset, (in quibus . . . plus quam semel) etiam *id* concupisti?'

A similar inability to allow for the anacolutha of what may have been intended to represent rapid rhetorical utterance (such as is exemplified in the accusative *gramineas hastas* in the passage just quoted) and a tendency to standardise, as it were, all such passages by the application of a schoolmaster's rules of grammar may be discovered in Nohl's note on § 127 where the only explanation (*Cl. Rev.* xviii. p. 211) which stands by the manuscript tradition (*quod . . . certe non sustulisset*) is contemptuously rejected. This passage may be noted also as illustrating a much-needed improvement in German editions of Latin texts. It is difficult to over-estimate the harm that has been done to learners by the abuse of commas. A German will never say, with Cicero, *si quis eorum qui adsunt forte miratur*; he will insist, with Nohl, on a comma after *eorum*, and another after *adsunt*. This sort of thing has always seemed to me to obscure the fact that the words interpunctuated (here *eorum qui adsunt*) form a single concept. In the last sentence of the passage under consideration, Nohl's 1908 edition has *Nunc enim, quod scriptum est inani in basi, declarat quid fuerit*. This is bad enough, but not so bad as the editor's previous texts, where one more comma is inserted after *declarat*. There is therefore some progress here in the matter of commas, just as there is at § 36 where Nohl now prints *componere hoc quod postulo*, instead of with a comma after *hoc*, as he did in 1907. But it ought to be obvious that, on any rational system of punctuation, the construction of the sentence quoted above from § 127 should not be obscured by any commas at all.

It would be comparatively profitless to contrast Nohl's latest edition with the excellent school text which he published in 1885: the field of criticism has been largely extended since that date, and valuable results have been obtained which are now common property. But as recently as 1907 Nohl produced a third and revised edition of his earlier work, (Freytag, Leipzig). He was probably not so well-versed then as he is now in the latest results of criticism, and it is interesting to compare what he puts forward as final in 1908 with readings to which he had given the authority of his name in the year immediately preceding. Thus he now reads *eius modi* (§ 6) for *huius modi*: *modo ut* (§ 10) for *modo*: at § 22 he restores to the text, though evidently with

hesitation, the passage *ita C. Cato— aestimata est*, which he had previously omitted: at § 25 he reads *locupletissima et amplissima* instead of as formerly *locupletissima*: § 36 *hic iudices* in place of *hosce iud.*: § 43 *despoliaretur si emerat? quid erat quod*, etc., instead of *despoliaretur? Si emerat quid erat quod*. This improvement Nohl attributes, by the way, to Baiter, whereas it is really the reading given by Lambinus. In § 48 words previously omitted are restored to the text—*de patellis pateris turibulis*: § 54 a change for the worse is made at the opening of the section, where there should be no parenthesis, the construction being obviously consecutive,—*ne existimetis . . . videte*, etc.: *ibid.* *et pateris* is added to the text, and *interim* is substituted for the MS. *tamen*: § 67 *id sibi—abstulisse* is quite rightly substituted, in accordance with MS. authority, for the *id ab se—abstulisse* of previous editions: § 102 *unam eligam* for *eligam*: § 104 *legibus ac* for *legibus aut*: § 122 *picta praeclare* for *picta*: § 124 *cludendum* for *claudendum*: § 128 Schlenger is rightly cited: in 1907 he was called Schlenge (Vorrede to the Freytag edition, p. 4): § 144 *istius* is altered to *fuisse* (after *commonefaceret*, to vouch for which reading the despised and rejected S is cited as well as p). Most of these changes are improvements and their adoption since the publication of the 1907 edition is an indication that Nohl has profited by the recent work of other students of the Verrines.

Nohl lays claim to the most scrupulous accuracy, even in matters of detail. He goes so far as to chronicle the fact (p. 162) that whereas the Richter-Eberhard 3rd edition, which he is revising, has '*pervenit res ad istius aures, nescio quo modo*' he has decided (quite correctly) to omit the comma. But his critical appendix is by no means free from errors, of which the following may be cited as examples: § 14 *si libidini non feceris* is wrongly credited to Madvig: it occurs in the *Leidensis*: § 29 '*tuam a . . . istius β*.' This is exactly the opposite of the fact, *tuam* being found in *pδ* (*β*) and *istius* in RS (*α*): § 35 *ut* is given in the notes, but the text has not been altered to correspond, and *uti* still appears: § 55 *de istius pallio* is credited to Zumpt, though there is MS. authority for the reading: § 64 the references should be 3, 77 and 3, 129 instead of 2, 77 and 2, 129: § 104 the last note (*has in his*) is wrongly included in this section, and should be transferred to § 106: § 107 *declararant* is a misprint for *declararunt*: § 140 the note '*illius a, istius β*' is misplaced, it should come first in the section: § 146 the note on *aliqui* is also in the wrong order, it ought to precede that on *P. Caesetius*.

W. PETERSON.

*M^cGill University, Montreal,
March, 1909.*

SEDULIUS SCOTTUS, AND JOHANNES SCOTTUS.

Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters. Herausgegeben von LUDWIG TRAUBE. Vol. I. Part 1. 'Sedulius Scottus,' von S. HELLMANN, Privatdozent der Geschichte an der Universität München. Pp. 203. M. 8. 50. Part 2. 'Johannes Scottus,' von E. K. RAND, Assistant Professor of Latin at Harvard University. Munich: Beck, 1906. Pp. 106. M. 6. 1.

THE above works are the first two parts of the series of studies in mediaeval Latin philology founded by the lamented paleographer and mediaevalist, Ludwig Traube of Munich. Both of them came to the knowledge of the present writer immediately after their publication, but it was only recently that he was requested to review them. The first deals with Sedulius Scottus, the Irishman of Liège, who was copying a Greek Psalter, and writing Latin verses founded on Virgil, Ovid and Fortunatus, about the middle of the ninth century. It begins with the first completely satisfactory text of the *Liber de rectoribus Christianis*, a noteworthy contribution to the political philosophy of the Middle Ages, dedicated to Lothar II about 855-9. It is written in prose intermingled with sets of verse in various metres after the model of the *Philosophiae Consolatio* of Boëthius, from whom the author borrows directly when he prefaces his first set of verses with the following sentence: 'haec quae breviter stilo prosali diximus, aliqua versuum dulcedine concludamus.' To the classical scholar the interest of his work lies in the reminiscences of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, as well as of Virgil and Ovid. The following is a favourable specimen of his Sapphics:

Quid valet flavi nitor omnis auri,
Ostra quid prosunt rosei decoris,
Gloriae quid sunt Scythicaeque gemmae,
Quid diadema,

Orba si mentis acies hebescat,
Lumen ut verum nequeat tueri,
Unde discernat bona prava iusta,
Fasque nefasque?

Next follows an important monograph on the *Collectaneum* in the library at Cues on the Mosel, which first attracted the notice of scholars when it was announced that it included certain new fragments of Cicero's orations *In Pisonem* and *Pro Fonteio*. It also included excerpts from the *Scriptores Historiae*

Augustae, and it was ultimately proved by Traube that this miscellaneous MS was the commonplace-book of Sedulius. His knowledge of Vegetius may be due to the Irish colony at Laon, while that of Valerius Maximus may be ascribed to non-Irish influence at Stavelot, S.E. of Liège, and that of Cicero may have come from MSS at Louvain or Liège, where (it will be remembered) Petrarch discovered a copy of Cicero's speech *Pro Archia* in 1333. The editor adds Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* to the works known to Sedulius; he also shows that the orthographical peculiarities of the *Collectaneum* are mainly of Irish origin, and draws the same inference in the case of the Latin *Proverbia Graecorum* included in it.

Dr. Rand's contribution to the series contains the text of two anonymous Commentaries on the *Opusculum Sacra*, now accepted as the genuine works of Boëthius. The author of the first is identified by Dr. Rand as Johannes Scottus, and that of the second as Remigius of Auxerre. This identification proves that, about 870 (a date approximately referred to in the first Commentary), John the Scot was still in Frankland and had not returned to England. It also shows that, so far from his being a resolute opponent of Boëthius (as supposed, for example, in Mr. H. F. Stewart's interesting essay on that author), he was actually in general agreement with him. He knows his Virgil, but he is not a humanist like Eric of Auxerre, the commentator on Juvenal and Persius, who supplies us with the earliest evidence of the influence of the study of Horace's *Odes* in France. Dr. Rand clearly shows that John the Scot had no sympathy with a purely humanistic devotion to the study of the classics, but that he is the prophetic precursor of the scholastic controversies of the Middle Ages. A large part of Dr. Rand's work lies outside the immediate province of the *Classical Review*, but it presents us with an admirable example of precise and scholarly method applied to the solution of intricate literary problems, and Harvard may be congratulated on having a scholar of his wide interests among the members of its professorial staff.

Both of these works should be studied closely by any one who wishes to form an accurate conception of the important place taken by Irishmen such as Sedulius of Liège and John the Scot in the intellectual life of the ninth century in Europe.

J. E. SANDYS.

SHORT NOTICES

Dictionnaire Étymologique du Latin et du Grec dans ses Rapports avec le Latin d'après la Méthode Évolutionniste. Par PAUL REGNAUD, Professeur de Sanscrit et de Grammaire comparée à l'Université de Lyon. Paris: Librairie E. Leroux. Fr. 10.

THIS work, which shows a high degree of industry, is unhappily distinguished by clumsy arrangement and an absolute disregard of phonetic laws. It is only necessary to quote one or two examples. Under *poena* we have no mention of the fact that the retention of an 'oe' diphthong in an unaccented syllable in Latin is irregular. Similarly under *bos* no mention is made of the fact that the pure Latin form would be *tuos*, and that *bos* must therefore be a dialect word. Under *igitur* we have 'étymologie très incertaine—Peut-être pour *tecc-itus* combinaison de *tecc*, *ecce* et de l'adv. ablatif *titus*.' Comment would be wasted. The *méthode évolutionniste*, whatever it may be, has no relation to the scientific study of language.

S. E. JACKSON.

Le Rappresentanze Figurate delle Provincie Romane. By MICHELE JATTA. Pp. 86. With 4 collotype plates and 12 illustrations. Roma: Loescher. 1908. 8 lire.

SIGNOR JATTA'S brochure is a useful piece of work. It consists of a careful enumeration of the monuments, with notes on the types of the personifications of provinces and their development, and on their dependence on the types of cities and countries in pre-Roman art. That art, he concludes, shows but small creative power in respect to the conception and types of the personified provinces, the scenes represented and the attributes employed. And yet, if they are regarded as a whole, and their attributes considered as the expression of a political and economic idea, they reveal a life all their own, and present an artistic phenomenon quite foreign to earlier art, and capable of giving a Roman stamp to the old elements that constitute them. That, we may remark,

is a conclusion which may be applied to the monuments of Roman art as a whole. The illustrations are good and interesting; perhaps one, instead of five, of the medallions from the Zeugma mosaic would have sufficed, since they are purely conventional.

G. F. HILL.

British Museum.

Ménandre: l'Arbitrage. MAURICE CROISSET. Paris, 1908. Pp. 93. Fr. 2.50.

MR. CROISSET, who assisted in the *editio princeps* of the new fragments, has now edited the scenes of the *Epitrepontes* separately with critical and general notes and a translation of his own. The critical notes are brought well up to date by containing many of Körte's conclusions from the papyrus, and the commentary is brief and serviceable. A reviewer is bound in duty to add that the editor's knowledge of things is not always to be trusted. It throws an unwelcome light on the state of Greek scholarship in France, if a leading and distinguished scholar can think that a dactyl is admissible in the second foot of an iambic verse and a spondee in the fourth (οὐδὲν γὰρ γλυκύτερόν ἐστιν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι and ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγεῖν παρ' ἀνδρὸς σοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα). It would have been painful to Cobet to find the former verse actually ascribed to him, for Croiset fails to notice that he omitted γάρ. It is an equal error at 517 to attribute a spondee in the second foot to Headlam. ἔσπε until should not have been introduced into the text of the prosaic Menander. Herodotus uses it, and so does Xenophon, who is often unattic; but otherwise it is poetical and not to be found in comedy, even in lyrics. σύν also, which Croiset inserts elsewhere, is probably found nowhere in Menander, except in such a stock phrase as σὺν θεοῖς. In the line immediately before this (510) he is satisfied with τὸν φίλτατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατον παῖδ' ἐμόν, and actually writes a note on ἐμόν without seeing that its position in the absence of an article would need, to say the least of it, some defence.

But in spite of a few such errors the book will be found handy and pleasant. H. R.

Early Greek Philosophy. By Professor J. BURNET. London: A. & C. Black, 1908. 2nd ed. 12s. 6d. net.

THE first edition of this book appeared in 1892. It has been enlarged from 378 pp. to 433 pp., and the index is now much more complete. The writer says that he has not tried to amend the style; but in very many places the line of thought is brought out more clearly, either by a change of expression or else by the addition of a few sentences. Inaccurate or misleading statements are corrected, while the increased number of notes and quotations is not the least of the improvements in the new edition.

Professor Burnet now sees that the Greeks were not such spinners of theories as is often supposed. They understood thoroughly the importance of prolonged observation—and perhaps of experiment—before framing a hypothesis; owing to the defects of our tradition we often have only the results reached by the early Greek philosophers, without the preliminary study by which they were obtained. Professor Burnet would have found considerable support for this view in the writings of Hippocrates: the ‘clinical histories’ of the *Epidemics* are records of observations unsurpassed for care, accuracy and scientific precision. It is, however, pleasing to note that Professor Burnet does see the importance of paying more attention to the light thrown upon ancient philosophy by the history of medicine. The chapter, for instance, dealing with the Pythagoreans is nearly doubled in size. We now know, through the recent publication of extracts from the history of medicine known as Menon’s *Iatrika*, that Philolaus wrote on medicine. Professor Burnet is of opinion, and it seems a correct one, that later Pythagoreanism differed from its earlier form because, as leaders of medical thought in Italy, the Pythagoreans were obliged to take ‘elements’ into account. The theory of ‘elements,’ alien from early Pythagorean thought, was forced upon the school by the study of medicine.

For the classical student, who is not yet acquainted with Greek philosophy, a better text-book could scarcely be found. It makes hard reading, but the advantages of mastering it are well worth the pains. Less brilliant and less suggestive than Gomperz, Professor Burnet does not (herein differing from many of his predecessors) presuppose a knowledge of the *data*. He gives translations of the philosophic fragments, and all who know the extreme difficulty of these will be grateful for the help and guidance thus afforded.

W. H. S. J.

Athenian White Lekythoi, with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907. Pp. 371. With 15 plates and 57 illustrations in text. 11" × 7½".

MR. FAIRBANKS has given a very interesting and useful account of one class of the Athenian white lekythi, those with drawing outlined in black or yellow lustrous pigment (oddly styled ‘glaze varnish’); those with drawing in dull colour are reserved for a possible second volume. The examples described cover the period 475–430 B.C., and number some 430 in all. They are classified in four groups according to the method of drawing, as set forth in a table which occupies the unusual position of frontispiece; each class contains about a hundred examples. Every specimen is fully described, and the plates are well executed; there is also a useful synopsis of subjects on p. 337. The indices are complete and satisfactory, but a table of contents is badly needed, as the head-lines do not help the reader sufficiently. It may be noted that *σάκκος* (p. 76) is a *vox nihili*, at least in the sense of a woman’s head-dress; also that the genuineness of the inscription on p. 77 has been doubted.

H. B. W.

Virgil’s Epische Technik. Von RICHARD HEINZE. B. G. Teubner, 1908. Zweite Auflage. Pp. 498.

THE first edition of this work was published in 1902. On the appearance of a second

edition it may be useful to recall the general character of an important book. The author's object is to arrive at an understanding of the processes which brought the *Aeneid* into being. His pages do not deal at all with the style or versification of the *Aeneid*, matters of much moment for the general effect produced by the poem, but not for the understanding of it as a work of the epic poet's art. The chief object is to reveal the artistical tendencies of the *Aeneid* by means of an examination of the *Aeneid* itself. The book is in two parts, the first comprising an analysis of the larger con-

nected divisions of the *Aeneid* in the matter of technique. The object here is to determine what the poet found in his sources, and what he borrowed from his models, and on this ground to track down his transforming and creative activities. In the second part the results so attained are put together, and an attempt is made to offer a complete and systematic idea of epic technique. The second edition is slightly modified in accordance with the views expressed by Norden in his commentary on *Aeneid* VI.

S. E. WINBOLT.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

THE 'ELECTRA.'

THE *Electra* of Sophocles in Greek was given on July 15, 16, and 17 in the Court Theatre. After all needful deductions are made, for cramped stage and for the unavoidable imperfections of amateurs, the play as a whole was very well done. By its effect even on those who could not follow the ancient tongue and had beforehand a very imperfect notion of the plot, the work of Sophocles once more demonstrated its power as a finely constructed and great tragedy. If the antique atmosphere is sometimes a bar to perfect sympathy in reading, ὄψις breaks through all that, and the universal humanity of it reaches the heart. And this in spite of imperfections of rendering. The little stage allows no room for a proper ὀρχήστρα. Perhaps one may mention also, in the present widespread interest in an improved pronunciation of Greek and Latin, that vowel quantities and doubled consonants were often quite indistinct, the rhythm of lyric parts not always clear. It is a pity, too, that γν should have been spoken like gn in German, for which there is really no evidence, and that ζ should have been sounded as sd or zd, the evidence for which is greatly outweighed by the evidence for dz.

The musical accompaniment, for harp and wood-wind mainly, was composed by Mr. Bantock, Professor of Music in the Uni-

versity of Birmingham, and was simple but effective. Without seeming thin, it afforded a better hint of how the ancient combination may have sounded than any other which the present writer has heard. The exceedingly difficult part of *Electra* was admirably done by Miss E. L. Calkin; Clytaemnestra by Miss Strudwick was also good; the others were adequate; the death scene was thrillingly rendered. The chorus, by the grace of their movements, in spite of the narrow space available, presented a series of exquisite pictures which two American spectators at least will long remember.

G.

EUROPEAN scholars may be interested to hear how the pioneer work of classical study is done *in partibus*. Prof. H. D. Naylor, of Adelaide, has been lecturing in Perth to crowded audiences, on the Platonic Socrates; and he had a good house even at Kilgourlie on the Gold Fields. The Greeks of Perth, ever ready as Greeks are to respond to a national appeal, entertained Mr. Naylor at a dinner and expressed their sympathy with his efforts. Our readers know that Greek is a dead language at the antipodes; perhaps it would be more correct to say that it has not yet come to life.

In South Africa, Miss M. V. Williams has lectured to the Classical Association on Reformed methods of teaching Latin and Greek.

THE longest papers in the July *Quarterly* are Mr. W. Scott's on the difficult chorus in the *Helena*, 1301 sqq., with an appendix criticizing Mr. Verrall's theory of the play, and Mr. Rice Holmes's examination of Sign. Ferrero's views upon Caesar's *First Commentary*. Mr. Winstedt writes on some curious Coptic legends about Roman emperors, Mr. Cornford on Plato, *Phaedo* 105 A, and Mr. G. B. Hussey on χρυσοχοεῖν in *Rep.* 450 B. Mr. Kronenberg has critical notes on Epictetus and Mr. Cook Wilson one upon Clement.

Mr. Summers completes his textual annotations on Seneca's Letters. Mr. T. W. Allen reviews Agar's *Homerica* at length, and Mr. Stuart Jones two important catalogues of Italian Museums. There are shorter notices, of Wenger's *Legal Representation in Papyri* by Mr. A. S. Hunt, and of Prentice's *Inscriptions from Syria* by the editor of this Journal.

THE Editor wishes to say that the letter on page 142 signed S. should have been signed Σ.

TRANSLATION

(THEOGNIS A. 69-86.)

Μήποτε, Κύρνε, κακῷ πίσυννος βούλευε σὺν
ἀνδρί,
εὔτ' ἂν σποινδαῖον πρήγῃμ' ἐθέλῃς τελέσαι,

ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βούλεν καὶ πολλὰ
μογῆσαι
καὶ μακρὴν πουσίν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαι.
Πρῆξιν μὴδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοῖνεο πᾶσι·
παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

Παύροισιν πίσυννος μεγαλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ' ἐπι-
χείρει,
μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβῃς ἀνίην.

Πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύ-
σασθαι

ἄξιός ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.
Παύρους εὐρήσεις, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἀνδρας ἐταί-
ρους

πιστοὺς ἐν χαλεποῖς πρήγμασι γινομένους,
οἵτινες ἂν τολμῶεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἴσον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε κακῶν μετέχειν.
Τούτους οὐχ εὐροῖς διζήμενος οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ναῦς μὴ μία πάντας ἄγοι,

οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν
αἰδώς, οὐδ' αἰσχροὺς χρῆμ' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει.

1. My son, take thou never counsel with the wicked,
Neither put thou thy trust in him when thou wouldest bring any worthy thing to pass :

2. But find thee out an upright man :
Yea, even with long toil and far wandering shalt thou seek him.

3. Commit not thy way utterly unto any man, no, not unto thy friends,
For there be few that are of an honest heart.

4. When thou art about a great matter put not confidence in many,
Lest a grievous mischief come upon thee thereby.

5. Verily a sure man is precious :
In the needful time of distress he is beyond silver and gold.

6. Not many shalt thou find faithful of them that company with thee,
Men that would endure to be of one mind with thee and to share thy evil fortune as thy good.

7. Make diligent search for such even in all lands,
But thou shalt not find them :

8. Yea, one ship might bear all them upon whose tongue and in whose eyes dwelleth righteousness,
Who take no evil thing in hand for advantage.

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

** * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Abbott** (Edwin A.) *The Message of the Son of Man.* 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxii + 166. London, Adam & Charles Black. 1909. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Appel** (Georgius) *De Romanorum precatationibus. (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Band VII. Heft 2.)* 9" x 6". Pp. 222. Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. M. 7.
- Aristophanes.** *Aristophanis Cantica, digessit stropharum popularium appendiculam adjecit Otto Schroeder. (Bibl. Script. Gr. et. Rom. Teub.)* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 100. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 2.40; geb. in Leinwand, M. 2.80.
- *Aristophanis Pax, edidit Konradus Zacher. Prefatus est Ottomarus Bachmann.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. xxxii + 128. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 5.
- Cauer** (Paul) *Die Kunst des Übersetzen. Ein Hilfsbuch für den lateinischen und griechischen Unterricht. Vierte, vielfach verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 168. Berlin, Weidman. 1909. geb. in Leinwand, M. 4.
- Classical Weekly, The.** Published by the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Edited by Gonzalez Lodge. Vols. I. and II. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8". Pp. iv + 232, iv + 248. New York. 1908, 1909. 1 dollar a year.
- Commentationes Philologiae Jenenses ediderunt Seminarium Philologorum Jenensis Professores.** Vol. VIII. Fasc. posterior. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 184. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 8.
- Dähnhardt** (Oskar) *Natursagen. Eine Sammlung naturdeutender Sagen, Märchen, Fabeln und Legenden. Band II. Sagen zum neuen Testament.* 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 316. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 8; geb. M. 10.50.
- De Stoop** (E.) *Essai sur la diffusion de Manichéisme dans l'empire Romain.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 152. Gand, van Goethem. 1909.
- Die Kultur der Gegenwart.** Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele. Herausgegeben von Paul Hinneberg. Teil I. Abt. 5. Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, von Wilhelm Wundt, Hermann Oldenberg, Ignaz Goldziher, Wilhelm Grube, Tetsujiro Inouye, Hans von Arnim, Clemens Baeumker, Wilhelm Windelband. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 572. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 12; geb. M. 14.
- Domaszewski** (Alfred von) *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. viii + 240, mit 26 Abb. im Text und einer Tafel. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 6; geb. in Leinwand, M. 7.
- Duff** (J. Wight) *A Literary History of Rome, from the Origenes to the Close of the Golden Age.* 9" x 6". Pp. xvi + 696. T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. 12s. 6d. net.
- Eger** (Dr. Jur. Otto) *Zur ägyptischen Grundbuchwesen in römischer Zeit. Untersuchungen auf Grund der griechischen Papyri.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 212. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 7; geb. in Leinwand, M. 8.
- Euripides.** *The Phoenissae.* Edited by A. C. Pearson, M.A. (*Pitt Press Series.*) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. i (50) + 246. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth, 4s.
- Friedländer** (Ludwig) *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire; by Ludwig Friedländer. Authorized translation of the Seventh enlarged and revised edition of the Sittengeschichte Roms, by J. H. Freese, M.A. (Camb.) and Leonard A. Magnus, Ll.B. In three volumes. Vol. II.* 8" x 5". Pp. xviii + 366. London, George Routledge. 1909. Cloth, 6s.
- Gaffiot** (Félix) *Pour le vrai latin. I.* 10" x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 174. Paris, Ernest Leroux. 1909.
- Harry** (J. E.) *Studies in Euripides: Hippolytus. University Studies, published by the University of Cincinnati. Series II. Vol. iv. No. 4. Nov.-Dec., 1908.* Pp. 72. University Press, Cincinnati.
- Hartmann** (Nicolai) *Platos Logik des Seins. (Philosophische Arbeiten, herausgegeben von Hermann Cohen und Paul Natorp. Band III.)* 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 518. Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. M. 15.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.** Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University. Vol. XX. 1909. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 174. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.; London, Longmans, Green, & Co.; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz. 1909. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi Fragmentis.** *Recognoverunt brevique adnotatione critica instruxerunt B. P. Grenfell et A. S. Hunt. (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.)* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. viii + 172 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Paper, 4s.; cloth, 4s. 6d.
- Hirschy** (N. C.) *Artaxerxes III. Ochus and his reign, with special consideration of the O.T. sources. (Doctor's Dissertation.)* 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 86. Chicago, University Press. 1909. Cl. 81 cents post free.
- Jebb** (Sir R. C.) *Samson Agonistes and the Hellenic Drama.* By the late Sir R. C. Jebb, O.M. (*From the Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. III.*) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 8. London, Henry Frowde. 1909. 1s. net.

- Lösch* (Stephan) Die Einsiedler Gedichte. Eine literar-historische Untersuchung. Inaugural-Dissertation. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 88, mit 1 tafel. Tübingen, J. J. Hechenhauer. 1909.
- Lucanus*. Adnotationes super Lucanum, primum ad vetustissimorum codicum fidem edidit Joannes Endt. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 448. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 8; geb. in Leinwand, M. 8.60.
- Maccari* (L.) La Perikeiromene di Menandro. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8". Pp. 44. Trani, Vecchi e C. 1909.
- Macchioro* (Vittorio) Il Simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane. Studi di Ermeneutica. Memoria letta alla R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 9". Pp. 144. Napoli, Achille Cimmaruta. 1909.
- Marquand* (Allan) Greek Architecture. (*Handbooks of Archeology and Antiquities.*) 8" x 5". Pp. x + 426, with 392 illustrations. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1909. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Nelson* (Axel) Die Hippokratische Schrift περὶ φασῶν. Text und Studien. Inaugural-Dissertation. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 120. Upsala, Almqvist und Wiksell. 1909.
- P. Papini Stati Silvae*. Varietatem lectionis selectam exhibit Gregorius Saenger. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 232. Petropoli, ex Officina Senatus. 1909.
- Philostratos über Gymnastik*. Von Julius Jüthner. (*Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern.*) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 336. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 10; geb. in Leinwand, M. 11.
- Poland* (Franz) Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens. (*Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der Fürstlichen jabolnowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig. XXXVIII. Nr. xxiii. der historisch-nationalökonomischen Sektion.*) 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 656. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 24.
- Preuschen* (Dr. Erwin) Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Lieferung 4. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 241-320 (Columns 481-640). Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. M. 1.80.
- Rodenwaldt* (Gerhart) Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 270. Berlin, Weidmann. 1909. M. 9.
- Sanctis* (Gaetano De) Per la Scienza dell' Antichità. Saggi e Polemiche. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xii + 532. Torino, Fratelli Bocca. 1909. Lire 6.
- Schwarzstein* (Albert). Eine Gebäudegruppe in Olympia. (*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes. Heft 66.*) 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 8". Pp. 42, mit 5 Tafeln. Strassburg, J. H. Ed. Heitz. 1909. M. 3.50.
- Scott* (J. A.) Studies in Greek Sigmatism. Reprint from a periodical unspecified, pp. 69-77, 72-77. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Evanston, Illinois. 1909. Cl.
- Seneca*. De Otio. Édition accompagnée de notes critiques et d'un commentaire explicatif, par René Waltz. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 38. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1909. Fr. 3.
- Sophocles*. The Trachinian Maidens of Sophocles. Translated into English verse, by Hugo Sharpley, M.A. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 68. London, David Nutt. 1909. 1s. 6d. net.
- Sudhaus* (S.) Der Aufbau der plautinischen Cantica. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 154. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1909. geh. M. 5; geb. in Leinwand, M. 6.
- Tacitus*. The Agricola. With introduction and notes by Duane Reed Stuart. 7" x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxviii + 112. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1909. Cloth, 40 c.
- Tambornino* (Julius) De antiquorum daemonismo. (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Band VII. Heft 3.*) 9" x 6". Pp. 112. Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. M. 3.40.
- Thackeray* (Henry St. John) A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. I. Introduction, orthography and accidence. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xx + 326. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth, 8s. net.
- Thain* (Leslie) Timotheus and other Poems. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 42. Hereford, Jakeman & Carver. 1909.
- Theophrasti Characteres recensuit Hermannus Diels*. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. xxviii + 68 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Paper, 3s.; Cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Thucydides*. Book III. Edited by E. C. Marchant, M.A. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4". Pp. xlii + 226. London, Macmillan & Co. 1909. Cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Tissier* (Jean) Table Analytique des Articles du Journal des Savants, 1859-1908. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 62. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1909.
- Weinreich* (Otto). Antike Heilungswunder. Untersuchungen zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer. (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Band VIII. Heft 1.*) 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 212. Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1909. M. 7.
- Zeller* (Franz X.) Die Zeit Kommodians. Inaugural-Dissertation. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. x + 161-408. Tübingen, H. Laupp, Jr. 1909.
- Ziebarth* (Erich) Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 150. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. geh. M. 4; geb. in Leinwand, M. 5.
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ERRATA.

P. 99, 2nd col., line 4, for 'Analecta' read 'Anthologia.'

P. 135, 2nd col., line 6 from end, for 'second person' read 'third person.'

The Classical Review

SEPTEMBER 1909

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE POSITION OF CLASSICS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IT may be of some interest for those who have been passing through the struggle for the retention of compulsory Greek in the older universities of England to know how the case for the classical languages stands in a newer country like South Africa. The fierce contest within the senate-house at Cambridge, resulting happily in a postponement, at least, of the evil day, has had its counterpart here, the only difference being that the question has been brought to a speedier issue and that the hosts of the Philistines have been practically too numerous to admit of resistance.

The educational system in a colony must always be determined largely by its peculiar environment, and consequently as long as the dwellers in the neighbourhood of the Cape were mainly a pastoral, and therefore a scattered, community, a university course borrowed from the older universities and relying chiefly upon books and a minimum of up-to-date appliances was found to be very suitable. The earliest course for the Arts Degree in 1873 was therefore to a great extent literary, a reflexion of the similar degree at London, and after the fashion of the older institution a pass in Latin and Greek was demanded of every student that wished to take a degree at the university. But since that time education has spread far beyond its original boundaries; large towns have

sprung up in the interior of the country, and the development of the mining industry, the growth of colonial industries and commerce, and latterly the promotion of scientific farming, have largely changed the conditions of life, and the university scheme has willy-nilly been forced to change too. With the institution of a separate degree in science in 1883 came the abolition of compulsory Greek for those taking a graduate course at the university. This first concession has resulted, after a transition period of long grief and pain, during which instructors were forced to instil Greek into candidates who took it up at the last possible moment, in the abolition of compulsory Greek even for the Literary B.A., that is, a student may take a so-called 'mixed' degree, and substitute a science in place of Greek.

But the hand of the destroyer has gone deeper still. In Great Britain very few even of the ardent reformers wish to uproot *Latin* from the school and university curriculum. Here, however, it has now become possible for certain students to get a university degree without the remotest suspicion of Latin. This has been accomplished by the substitution of an examination with 'practical' alternatives to Latin in place of the ordinary Matriculation for any student who wishes to take a degree in Mining Engineering. Simultaneously Latin has been made an

optional subject for everyone in the Intermediate B.A., so that Latin now is in a fair way to lose all interest except for the student who has from the outset been marked out for a literary career.

This dénouement calls forth two questions, the answer to which may prove interesting. The first is for the educationalists: 'How far is such a policy justifiable even in the light of compelling circumstances?' The second concerns the few who make the classics their special care: 'What steps should be taken by the teachers of Latin (and of Greek where such exist) to enable their subject to hold its own and not degenerate into a mere accomplishment?'

In support of the action of the reformers certain peculiarities in the present educational environment have often been adduced. The ordinary schools of the country, many of which are High Schools taking pupils as far as Matriculation, provide a curious mixture of primary and secondary education, *i.e.*, at a certain point the secondary courses necessitated by the lower university examinations are grafted on to the primary stock, and many a pupil who in Europe would merely complete a primary course of instruction has here been compelled, hitherto, to assimilate the elements of the higher subjects at the end of his school-life, only to discard them immediately. Pupils who are destined for the ordinary walks of life, who are to be artisans, tradesmen, clerks, farmers or farmers' assistants, have no more need of Latin here than in any country, and a school-leaving examination with 'practical' alternatives for Latin could not reasonably be rejected for such as these.

The real solution of this problem is, of course, the establishment of two different classes of schools to provide primary and secondary education separately. But supposing that to be for the present beyond the range of practical politics, and even granting that a number of the pupils of our schools could gain little by the study of Latin and would have no need of it in after life, yet there will almost certainly be some who, through the loop-hole of the 'practical' alternatives, will escape a training in Latin, and who may yet reach a status far different from

that of the occupations enumerated. How many, for instance, of our farmers are obliged by the force of circumstances to take up important positions in later life, being elected for Parliament and having a direct control over the affairs of the country! Moreover, there is no sphere of labour in South Africa that cries out for workers more than that of teaching, because, in the continual progress of education, new schools are forever being opened in more remote districts, and the demand for teachers is a steady one. Consequently many who never intended to teach, when they are disappointed in their original aims, try to qualify for this profession. It is cases like these, I think, which the reformers have not sufficiently considered; it is here that the new scheme will be at a disadvantage. Few things could be worse for a country than that a large number of its teachers should be utterly devoid of culture; and for the sake of such as these no subject, least of all Latin, with its power of stimulating thought, should be inconsequently dropped. And in South Africa there is a special reason why some training in a precise language like Latin would benefit any whose duty it is to aim at accuracy of thought and expression. The large majority of the population speak two vernaculars, Cape Dutch and English, and with many the former is the mother-tongue, and the latter has to be learned as an additional language. Cape Dutch, as everyone knows, is a dialect which is seen at its best in humorous tales and comic verse, a forcible instrument of expression in the domestic circle, but nothing more. A child endeavouring to gain a thorough, logical mastery of English would find the other vernacular no help whatever either in the way of mental or linguistic training, whereas Latin, by forcing him first to think clearly, would lead him to express himself accurately, both in Latin, and, through translation, in English itself. Neither English nor Cape Dutch has any merit in compelling precision of thought, hence Latin is in this case of supreme value, seeing that neither French nor German is studied to any great extent, and they are of little use in the ordinary life of the country. If it be objected that the teaching of Latin in the past has not

conducted to greater intellectual thoroughness or to a better grasp of English the fault lies with the low standard of work that has hitherto been demanded and often with inefficient teaching. In cases where Latin has always been taught with thoroughness, it has been felt that greater accuracy not only in the use of English, but in every department of the curriculum, has been the result.

The upshot of the whole matter is this. If this concession to the 'practical' people is but the thin edge of the wedge, and if they mean in a few years' time to leave Latin to the option of *every* candidate for a degree, irrespective of any special bent, the position of the classics could hardly be worse, for a commercial and agricultural country primarily needs what is 'useful,' and a utilitarian population inevitably prizes that which is in the greatest demand. If the 'practical' alternatives to Latin were once encouraged in the schools, the latter subject would be reduced to the position now held by Greek, and in most cases be shelved because it would not 'pay' to have a teacher for it, and wherever the schools fail to provide the teacher the subject must inevitably go to the wall when the population is as scattered as it is here.

If, on the other hand, the concession has been made not as a preliminary to a complete remodelling of the educational curriculum, but merely to suit the convenience of a particular section of the community, there is every reason to hope that the position of the classics may be improved rather than otherwise by the change. The teacher will at least be freed from the drudgery of drumming the elements of Latin into pupils whose brains were in no wise intended for it, and the college lecturer similarly will be relieved of the incubus of hopelessly 'scientific' candidates in the Intermediate, whose struggles with the more advanced work are painful to all concerned. Being well rid of unsatisfactory pupils, the teacher will be able to prosecute his work with greater interest and profit than has hitherto been possible; and in the interim, at any rate, until the extent of the reform policy has become really apparent, his best plan will be to establish the value of his subject firmly by making it as attractive as possible, by economising the time that is

spent on it, and by working for such a revision of the university requirements that a more satisfactory standard of knowledge and more efficient teaching will be ensured.

I believe that the first two ends could both be served if a more extensive use were made of the 'Direct Method' advocated so strongly in the pages of the *Classical Review*. Sometimes, however, classes here are too large to admit of any approximation to the conversational method, which can be employed comfortably only with classes of twenty-five and under. Moreover, the tyranny of the 'Set-books' at present prevents teachers from dividing their time as they would like. I have, however, made use of the oral method whenever possible with the most satisfactory results. The beginners' class in Greek, it seems to me, can hardly be worked well in any other way, seeing that the whole ground-work has often to be covered in a year. As a matter of fact, one pupil of mine, after about five months' work of two lessons a week with the 'Direct Method,' gained a thorough grounding in Greek accidence and simple syntax, together with a great deal of intellectual pleasure, so that all the evil accompaniments of 'cram' were avoided.

The teaching of the classics, however, cannot be put upon an entirely satisfactory basis until the examinations, which to the commercially-minded youth represent the goal of study, are designed to further and not to thwart the chief aim of classical study. That aim, as all will agree, is to be able to read and appreciate, to some extent, the best portions of classical literature. As long as more or less disconnected pieces of different authors are prescribed for rigorously detailed handling, the pupil is bound to give undue attention to one or two works without gaining any conception of the extent and value of the whole field. Therefore if some scheme could be introduced whereby more extensive reading could be done, even if some things, owing to pressure of time, had to be done, as at Birmingham University, by means of translations, the classical course would be productive of far greater interest and lead to more general culture than at present.

There are many things to encourage the classical teacher out here. The utilitarian views of the elders are not innate in the mind of the child, so that, where the teaching is interesting, there is often an enthusiasm for classical subjects; teachers do not find that these subjects are disliked any more than in England. Then, instead of the 'intellectual apathy' of the English public school boy, which has been deplored in recent articles, there exists great keenness to 'pass examinations,' an emotion in itself ignoble, but, provided the examinations were improved, capable of being utilised by the teacher to further really desirable ends. For the classics, being a literary and historical inheritance which belongs to all people of European origin, should claim the allegiance of both

the races of South Africa. The stirring memory of what our predecessors achieved at one of the highest stages of past history should prove an inspiration to a people who are about to enter upon a new and important era of progress, who are even now blending varied characteristics into one consistent whole. Grave problems are awaiting them, for the right solution of which is required not merely a knowledge of external conditions, but a spiritual insight into the character and history of the human race. The present is surely not the time to *discourage* the study of that literature which above all others broadens the sympathies and enriches the minds of men.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS.

A NOTE ON THE TEACHING OF THE PASSIVE VOICE.

AMONG those who wish to introduce reforms into the teaching of elementary classics there is considerable difference of opinion about the most suitable time to begin the passive voice. Many reformers are convinced that it presents peculiar difficulties, and some would postpone it until the second year, or even later. It seems to the present writer that, as the ultimate decision must depend upon the experience of teachers, an account of his own method of procedure may prove of some service, even though it may be neither the best possible, nor even nearly the best.

Of course, the school conditions must be taken into account. Much depends upon the age of the learner, his capacity for languages, and the amount of time he can bestow upon Latin. In the present case the boys begin Latin at about the age of twelve, after at least one year of French, and spend one period (three-quarters of an hour) on Latin every day.

It is found not only possible but advantageous to begin the passive voice towards the end of the first year, very soon after the active of the indicative mood has been thoroughly mastered. The passive of the

subjunctive is introduced in the second year, soon after (or even along with) the learning of the active of that mood. The method employed is as follows.

It is pointed out that the tenses formed from the present stem have in the passive the endings *-r, -ris, -tur, -mur, -mini, -ntur*. The passive of *all* these tenses is then learnt, especial care being given to the places where the stem-vowel changes (*regis, regeris; audit, auditur*). The imperative, participle and infinitive are simply learnt by heart. The passives of perfect tenses are mastered in a few minutes. Then follows a series of exercises, worked both orally and in writing, in which the active is changed into the passive and *vice-versa*. Thus:

Caesar Gallos vincit, Galli a Caesare vincuntur;
Puerum monuimus, Puer a nobis monitus est,

and so on.

These exercises are continued for about a week, and then the class returns to the general work of the text-book. But several times in each lesson opportunities occur of revising the knowledge recently acquired, until, after perhaps a fortnight, few mistakes are made in changing from one voice to another. It is now time to strengthen the work already

done by a fresh series of exercises, consisting of English passive sentences to be translated into Latin. After two or three days at this the only revision necessary is the introduction of a few passives into the composition lesson, and the constant use of the same voice in the Latin conversations with the class, daily practice in which is an invaluable, though not, perhaps, an essential part of the 'oral method.'

The present writer never finds that the passive voice causes trouble when taught in this way, even though the amount of time given to Latin is not great. Of course, if Latin be begun at the age of nine or ten, serious difficulties are bound to occur, and three or four years may elapse before the point is mastered.

W. H. S. JONES.

ON A REDISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTS IN AESCHYLUS,
AGAMEMNON, ll. 489-502.

- Κλυ. τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων
φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλα-
γὰς, 490
- Χορ. β. εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὀνειράτων δίκην
τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφήλωσεν
φρένας.
- Φυλ. κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρῶ κατὰσκιον
κλάδοις ἐλαίαις· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 495
- Χορ. γ. ὥς οὐτ' ἀνανδὸς οὔτε σοι δαίω φλόγα
ῥλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρὸς,
ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει
λέγων·
- Φυλ. τὸν ἀντίον δὴ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·
- Χορ. γ. εἰ γὰρ πυρὸς εἴς φανεῖσι προσθήκη
πέλοι, 500
- Χορ. δ. ὅστις τάδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπενύχεται πόλει,
αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

Versus secundum Script. Class. Bib. Oxon. computati.

489. Klytaemestrae notam, 501 chori, praefigunt codd.: totum choro dat Scaliger: tribus choreutis (489, 493, 501) distribuebat Franz: de duobus cogitabat Schneidewin: 489-500 custodi, 501 sq. coryphaeo adsignat Keck.

499. δὴ conieci: δέ codd.

It is generally accepted that the whole passage (475-502) is divided between different speakers. The epode must obviously be assigned to members of the chorus: the iambics are usually assigned to the leader of the chorus, save the last two lines which are spoken by another member of it. This leaves the following difficulties in ll. 489-500. (i) The assignment of the speech to Klytemestra by the MSS. is disregarded, (ii) *κάσις* *πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε* is almost

unintelligible, (iii) *σοι* (l. 496) is a curious use of the general 2nd person. The first of these is not serious, but may give a clue to the real speakers.

The arrangement given above claims to elucidate these difficulties, and also to provide an episode in the play which is more appropriate to the dramatic situation at this point than the received version.

What is the situation? The chorus of Argive elders has just sung an ode, suggested by the arrival of the news (conveyed by a somewhat precarious chain of beacon-fires) that 'Troy has fallen.' In this incomparable poem they first dwell on the workings of Providence. This leads them to consider the infidelity of Helen and the misery she has inflicted on Menelaus and the whole army, and finally, working themselves up to a pitch of anger and suspicion, they openly express their doubt as to whether the fire-borne message has really any ground in truth. Is it only a woman's fancy? they ask.

The herald arrives very shortly however, and he, presumably, will set their doubts at rest. But expectation is disappointed, and in the sequel he does not refer to the beacons at all. Now the Athenians must have been singularly lenient or singularly indifferent, if they were content to witness a play of which the first quarter is wholly irrelevant or even contrary to the remainder, and Dr. Verrall's interpretation of the plot is designed to meet this difficulty. Apart from his book the view put forward in this paper would certainly not have occurred to me, and I assume throughout that the

entrance of the herald is a moment of intense dramatic interest, mainly to Klytemestra. This is inevitable on Dr. Verrall's hypothesis in regard to the beacons, but it appears to me also reasonable even if the beacon-chain is really what Klytemestra says it is. The opportunity for the assassination is at hand, and it is most necessary that the elders' suspicions should be allayed: the herald alone can bring this about, and yet, if a rumour of the plot has reached Agamemnon abroad, his agent may prove only too ready to listen to what the elders have to say, and to give the king warning. Hence Klytemestra's anxiety in any case. While therefore I am personally a whole-hearted supporter of Dr. Verrall's theory with regard to the plot, I think my view on this particular passage fits in with other interpretations too, though it is certainly most applicable to his, and to my thinking thereby commends itself the more.

I return to the concluding lines of the epode. Now we know from ll. 590-593 that Klytemestra either hears these words or has them repeated to her, and the easiest supposition and the most convenient for the spectators is that she issues from the palace before the concluding words of the epode are pronounced. It is almost certain that the chorus would be facing the audience at this point, and would not therefore see her. She comes forward and is observed: the chorus turns about and she begins to speak. This is in accordance with the note of the MSS.

But I should only be disposed to allow her vv. 489, 490. These have been criticised on account of their verbosity (by Emperius, Bothe), but this is exactly the characteristic one notes in Klytemestra's speeches, ll. 281-350 (cf. especially 312, 313) and may be due to excitement coupled with nervousness: notice for instance the random similes from sun and moon in these speeches. Her appearance from the palace at this juncture is perhaps due to information of the herald's arrival, and hearing doubts expressed she begins to answer them with a flood of words. Then, breaking off, she goes out to meet the herald, possibly to see if she can prevent him from revealing her plot in its entirety.

The next two lines come very well from the mouth of one of the chorus, completing the queen's remark (when she has gone) in a sense on which at the moment she could hardly have ventured herself.

The absence of connection at l. 493 points to another speaker. A clue to his identity is to be found in the words *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ . . . κόνις τὰδε*. Mr. Sidgwick calls the expression 'quaint and almost grotesque,' and who will dispute it? Now we have already heard the *φύλαξ* of the prologue make at least one such remark: what hinders that he should have assembled with others outside the palace, and spying the herald should announce the fact in characteristic fashion? In that case it is not necessary to take the phrase *κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος κτλ.* in any but the baldest sense: 'the herald comes from the sea-shore: the sand next the mud (on his boots) tells me that.' It is true that *κόνις* means 'dust' and not 'sand,' but if Aeschylus cannot use 'thirsty dust' for 'sand,' he surely belies his reputation for daring expression, and after all no dust drinks more or more often than the sand on the sea-shore. If the herald is near enough for the olive wreath to be identified, the sand may also be noted by a keen-eyed watchman.

That the watchman is the speaker is also clearly indicated in the next lines. The word *σοι* has troubled the commentators, but it appears to me in view of the *μοι* two lines above that the difficulty is removed, if we suppose another speaker joining in at line 496, and answering the previous remark. This will also give point to *τὰδε*. The *φύλαξ*, or whoever it may be, says 'his appearance witnesses this,' *i.e.* that the herald comes from the shore. But the more sprightly interlocutor takes him up—'witnesses,' says he, 'that he will give you news not voiceless nor by kindling you a flame of fire.' For whom was the fire kindled in the strictest sense, if not for the *φύλαξ*?

Line 498 may be assigned either to the interlocutor whom I call Chorus γ, or to the *φύλαξ*. If to the former we get numerical correspondence in the lines assigned to each speaker, and although this is not in the least essential, where more than pairs of lines are

concerned, it goes for something when taken with the fact that l. 499 suits the grim humour of the φύλαξ. I venture to change δὲ to δὴ, but we may safely leave the rather odd ἀποστέργω—‘I don’t like it,’ as we say colloquially, to express apprehension. Keck (1863) assigned the whole of the passage 489–500 to the watchman, arguing from the general tone of the passage. Of this I only became aware after forming my own view. The remaining lines can pass without comment.

The following may be taken as a rough translation of the passage, with the necessary stage directions, designed to bring out the points referred to above.

The Chorus are singing the concluding lines of the Epode. Citizens, etc., including the Watchman are grouped on the stage, presumably discussing the great news. The palace door opens; Klytemestra appears, and glances to the left, as if expecting someone. She stands unobserved for a moment: as the chorus ceases, she comes forward and addresses them.

Kl. We shall soon know about the succession of torches with their burden of light, even the beacons and the fire.

Hesitates, then exit to meet herald.

Chorus 2. Yes, whether there is any truth in them, or whether this light, like a dream, has come with its joyous message and deceived her mind.

Watchman (excitedly). I see a herald here, his head shaded with olive stems, coming from the sea-shore. The sand, neighbouring sister to the mud, tells me that.

Chorus 3. Tells you that not without speech nor by kindling you a flame of mountain logs will he bring his message in the form of smoke. But either he will speak and bid us rather rejoice.

Watchman (grimly). I certainly don’t like the other alternative.

Chorus 3. No, for one desires a successful sequel to what has appeared so favourable.

Chorus 4. Whoever makes his prayer for the city in any other sense, may he reap the reward of his heart’s transgression.

At this point Klytemestra re-enters in converse with the herald, and listens with anxiety to his words. As he proceeds, she gets more and more at ease till finally she bursts out with a note of triumph (l. 587).

Viewed thus the passage appears to be fairly free from difficulties of translation, and in the multiplicity of speakers and the part played by Klytemestra, to afford the most natural and effective prelude to the entry (much looked-for) of the herald.

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THE ATTITUDE OF EURIPIDES TOWARDS DEATH.

In reading the closing words of the sublime defence of Socrates one cannot but notice the similarity borne by the attitude which they express to that fragment of the Polyidus:¹

τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι κατθανεῖν
τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται;

Another fragment which well illustrates the opinions Euripides held with regard to death, and which has been passed down to us by many authors,² and was even quoted

by Cicero,³ is to be found among the surviving verses of the Hypsipyle. It runs:⁴

ἂ γοῦν παραινῶ, ταῦτά μου δέξαι, γύναι.
ἔφν μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν,
θάπτει τε τέκνα χῆτερα κτᾶται νέα,
αὐτὸς τε θνήσκει· καὶ τὰδ' ἄχθονται βροτοί,
εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν. ἀναγκάως δ' ἔχει
βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν,
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ· τί ταῦτα δεῖ
στένειν, ἅπερ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν;
δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς.

The same idea is contained in the Alkestis (11. 782 sq.) but in the Hypsipyle it is

¹ 639 Nauck.

² Clemens Alex. Strom. iv. p. 587 sq.

Plut. Mor. p. 110, F.

Stobaei Florilegium, 108, 11.

³ Tusc. 3, 25, 59.

⁴ Frgm. 757 Nauck.

expressed more solemnly, the words being probably spoken by Adrastus to Hypsipyle¹ to console her for the death of the infant Opheltis, while in the former play it is the drunken Herakles who puts forward his arguments in favour of amusements in general and drunkenness in particular.

More concise than the fragments quoted above, but very similar in conception, is that of the Temenides, known as 733 Nauck :

τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι καταθανεῖν μένει.
κοινὸν δ' ἔχοντες αὐτὸ κοινὰ πάσχομεν
πάντες· τὸ γὰρ χρεὼν μείζον ἢ τὸ μὴ χρεὼν.

We see that the thought contained in all these fragments is essentially the same; namely, that all mortals must die, sooner or later, and that it is no use lamenting over an unavoidable necessity; more especially since we do not know whether death may not really be the beginning of a new life. That Euripides contemplated the notion of resurrection after death, or of death being a merely temporary state, is highly probable; he has used this as the central idea of the *Alcestis* and the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. In the case of the former, although some sharp-witted Athenian may have supposed that *Alcestis* never dies at all,² still no doubt is expressed on the subject by the author, and to the general public the play remains what

¹ These words would seem to form part of the speech of Adrastus which is thus referred to in the Hypothesis quoted by the scholiast of Clemens Alexandrinus (p. 105 sq.); "Ἀδραστος δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Ὑψιπύλλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτέ.

² Cf. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 1-128.

it was written, the history of the death and resurrection of the Queen of Phrae. For the latter, doubts have been expressed as to its right to claim the authorship of Euripides; one critic thinks this poet could never have written anything so good,³ while another,⁴ curiously enough, will not accept Euripides as its author on the ground of the play's incoherence and general inferiority; both, but for opposite reasons, fix upon Chaeremon⁵ as its author. Others still have supposed the *Iphigenia* to be the work of Euripides the Younger, or at least to have been finished by him: but though these arguments have strong foundation, still the play has always been known as the '*Iphigenia* of Euripides' and in all probability will continue to be so considered by the vast majority of the reading public.

That Euripides regarded death with equanimity is certain; and who may not say that Socrates, while conversing with Cebes and the others on the last evening of his life, had not in mind those words of his friend:

ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας
ζῆν φημὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ βλέπειν τοὺς μὴ καλῶς?

J. A. SPRANGER.

³ Gruppe, *Ariadne*, p. 462: 'Ein seltenes Kunstwerk . . . das wenn es von Euripides käme, ihm einen ausserordentlichen hohen Rang, einen Rang neben Sophokles anweisen müsste.'

⁴ Bang.

⁵ On the sole authority of the quotation by Athenaeus (13, 562, E, sq.) of lines 549-52 of the *Iphigenia* (with the variant *τύχα* for *πότμω*) as Chaeremon's.

FLEET-SPEEDS; A REPLY TO DR. GRUNDY.

IN a paper contributed to the June number of this Review, Dr. Grundy defends the statement in *Herod.* 9, 183, that the Persian fleet voyaged from Therme to the 'Sepiad strand' in one day, by quoting three passages relating to a single merchantman, another mentioning no particular class of vessel, and, lastly, the well-known trireme race from Athens to Mytilene. I am quite ready to believe that a merchantman, with a favourable wind, could do 6 m.p.h., and that a

trireme on occasion could attain a fairly high rate of speed;¹ but what this has to do with

¹ From the same data different writers have deduced the most varied speeds for triremes; the highest is Graser's absurd 11-12 Eng. m.p.h. *on an average*, the lowest, I think, Cartault's 5½ kilom. I am not going to add a new one to the number. If we knew the tonnage of an Athenian trireme, we could probably deduce, from the known data relating to racing eights, what is the *maximum* speed with which a trireme could possibly be credited for a short burst with oars alone. But we don't.

the rate of progression of a large fleet under conditions of warfare I am at a loss to conceive.

Two propositions are indisputable; the pace of a fleet is the pace of its *slowest* member, and single ship voyages are no evidence for fleets. Most of our recorded single ship voyages are cases of vessels carrying messages or news, and therefore the *fastest* available. The only evidence for the pace of a large fleet is the recorded voyages of other large fleets. To a commander expecting a fight it was vital to keep his rowers fresh; to a ship carrying despatches it might have been vital to arrive quickly, at the expense of the utter exhaustion of the men.

Being far from books of reference, I regret that I can only give what figures I have by me.

Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 13. Alcibiades, going with 86 ships from Parion to Proconnesus (50 kilom.) in search of the Spartan fleet, took all night and up to *ἄπιστον* next day, which Professor A. Bauer, considering the time of year, makes some 18 hours (*Jahresh.* 4 (1901) p. 101)—a good deal under 2 Eng. m.p.h. Alcibiades insisted on his ships keeping together.

Diod. 20, 5, 6. Agathocles, with 60 triremes, took 6 days and 6 nights from Syracuse to the stone-quarries near the Hermaeum promontory—about 488 kilom.—slightly over 2 Eng. m.p.h. The voyage began and ended with a race with Carthaginian squadrons; the story does not give him any supply ships, but this is unlikely.

Bell. Afr. 34. Caesar's voyage from Lilybaeum to Ruspina has been worked out (I think by Assmann) at $1\frac{3}{4}$ knots p.h., which supports the above.

Thuc. 6, 65. The Athenian fleet, triremes and transports, goes from Catana to Syracuse during the night, *i.e.* starting *ὑπὸ νύκτα* and arriving *ἅμα ἑφ.* It is about 36 miles. We cannot say how long the night was, as we do not know the time of year; at 8 hours it would be $4\frac{1}{2}$ Eng. m.p.h.; at 7 hours just over 5; this for one of the finest fleets of antiquity, going a comparatively short distance, where speed was essential (in order to arrive before the Syracusan army), and where there was no question of the fleet having to fight.

Polyb. 5, 110. The fleet of Philip V., consisting at this time of swift Illyrian lembi (Polyb. 5, 109), is seized with panic one evening (*ὑπὸ νύκτα*) off the island Sason at the mouth of the Achelous, and going day and night without stopping, reaches Kephallenia, taking two nights and a day and arriving some time on the day following. If we suppose 36 hours for what is a (maximum) distance of 300 kilom., we get a speed of 5 Eng. m.p.h. or thereabouts.

I omit a number of instances in which the time of starting, or arriving, or both, is hopelessly vague.

We have here three cases of a fleet in the ordinary way doing somewhere about 2 m.p.h., and two cases of a fleet in a great hurry doing somewhere about $4\frac{1}{2}$ –5 m.p.h. Will Dr. Grundy give me an instance of a fleet doing (as he claims) 8 Eng. m.p.h.?

Now, the ships of 480 B.C. were certainly not *faster* than those of later times, if as fast. Also, if a fleet could coast, it did coast, and landed the men even for meals; and the Persian fleet was intended to coast, *testis velificatus Athos*, and the battle off the Peneus mouth, which shows that their scouts were coasting. This fact, together with the enormous size of the fleet, was bound to make the Persian voyage excessively slow; why should we give them, coasting, a speed out of all relation to the 2 m.p.h. of Alcibiades and Agathocles, who were crossing open sea? Moreover, the Persian admirals were co-operating with Xerxes; they had so much time to spare that they had given the land army eleven days' start; they had, in arranging their movements, to allow for the possibility of an adverse wind when the time came, since the Etesian winds were not yet blowing;¹ and they had before them the powerful Greek fleet, which imposed upon them the absolute necessity of keeping their own rowers fresh. The idea that they would wait at Therme till the last moment, risking a head wind, and then make a forced voyage, exhausting their men, when for all they knew the Greeks might be upon them with the next dawn, does not appeal to me as one that will bear examination.

¹ Dr. Macan (2, 411) puts the voyage in June-July. The Etesians do not blow till August.

But, says Dr. Grundy, I have made a 'curious mistake' in giving the distance as 'perhaps 120 miles,' when it is 'an easily ascertainable distance of 90.' We are all liable to make mistakes; and it has slipped Dr. Grundy's memory that the figure 120 is his own. I fear that I took it from the *Great Persian War*;¹ though I had the saving grace to add a 'perhaps'; for I do not know how to ascertain, easily or otherwise, the exact distance from a known point to an unknown one, and neither Dr. Grundy nor I nor anyone knows where the 'strand' of Herodotus' poetical source was meant to be located. Now, to a fleet sailing straight across the sea from Therme to C. Sepias the distance is about 900 stades, 900 stades being just under 105 miles;²

and 90 miles brings us about to Zangaradhes. Dr. Grundy is therefore now assuming that the fleet went direct across the sea. It would almost certainly coast. It is not easy to measure a coasting voyage, but it would add on about 150 stades, making the distance to the same point about 108 miles; but, after all, the poet may have conceived of the 'strand' as further south than Zangaradhes, and near C. Sepias; and as C. Sepias, coasting, would be about 122-123 miles, I rather think that 'perhaps 120' is a good deal nearer the mark than 90. However, even 90, in view of the fleet-speeds given above, does not seem of much use for Dr. Grundy's case.

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¹ P. 327, note. 'A distance . . . of one hundred and twenty miles in fourteen hours of daylight, over eight miles an hour.'

² I have no large-scale chart here, but such maps as I have agree with the distance as given by Dr. Macan

(on 7, 183), 'about 900 stades.' I take the stade as 606½ feet. I note with interest that Dr. Macan (l.c.) thinks the voyage took more than a day; 'it must have been the deliberate plan to rest a night at sea.'

NOTES

TWO NOTES ON TIBULLUS.

I. I. ix. 25 sqq.

*Ipse deus tacito permisit laene ministro
ederet ut multo libera uerba mero.*

*Ipse deus somno domitos emittere uocem
iussit et inuitos facta tegenda loqui.*

THE uselessness of the numerous conjectures, *saepe*, *lingua*, *lena*, and the last one, Némethy's *laeue* (voc.), will be clear from the following considerations: Tibullus's text is that infidelity 'will out.' The god will wring the guilty secret from an unconscious and unwilling sleeper (note the significant words *domitos*, *iussit*, *inuitos*), or from an accomplice whose silence has been broken down by wine. Of such an accomplice it cannot be said that he is allowed to speak freely, when *tacitus* itself proclaims that he speaks only under stress. *permisit* then cannot be taken with the *ut* of the next line as every emendation known to me requires. It must have an object in its own line, and this will be the temptation which the god throws in his

way. The simplest change seems to be *uina*, which I proposed in my Oxford text. For the sense of the verb, 'give access to,' compare e.g. Lucan 10, 330, 'prima tibi campos permittit apertaue Memphis rura,' *id.* 7, 124 'arma permittit populis.' *tacito ministro* is, of course, rightly taken by Némethy, after Dissen, 'seruo qui ceterum fideliter custodit secreta domini,' but a parallel from Plautus, referring to a *lena*, is so instructive that I must quote it in full. It is *Cistellaria* 120 sqq. The *lena* says:

*Idem mihi istud quod magnae parti uitium mulierum 120
quae hunc quaestum facimus: quae ubi saburratae
sumus,*

*largiloquae extemplo sumus, plus loquimur quam sat
est.*

*Nam illanc ego olim quae hinc flens abit paruolam
puellam proiectam ex angiporstu sustuli.*

adulescens quidam hic est adprime nobilis; 125

quin ego nunc quasi sum onusta mea ex sententia,

quiaque adeo me compleui flore Liberi,

magis libera uti lingua conlubitumst mihi:

tacere nequeo misera quod tacito usus est.

Sicyone summo genere ei uiuit pater: e.q.s. 130

Lines 120-2 and 126-9 are undoubtedly ancient duplicates, though 126-9 are omitted in A; and they illuminate at once the general thought here and the origin of the corruption. For, as I pointed l.c., *lenae*, a gloss on our passage, is easily recognisable in the *lene* of the MSS. Glosses in corrupted form are found elsewhere in Tibullus, e.g. *albana* for *Albunea* II. 5, 69, where (as here) it has expelled the genuine reading, *Aniena*; cf. *Pan.* 55. *Lenae* may have been intended for a gen. after *ministro*, or as a nom. plural. In this case it is an inapposite reference to the bibulous habits of that class.

II. THE VOCATIVE OF NEMESIS.¹

The second object of the love and the muse of Tibullus he has celebrated under the pseudonym of Nemesis: but she is never addressed by this name. That the poet had no rooted objection to using the *casus appellandi* towards his mistresses, his first book shows, where Delia appears nine times in the vocative against six times in the nominative. Why then should 'Nemesis mea' in ii. 4, 59 be apostrophised as 'saeua puella' in ii. 4, 6? Why in ii. 5, 111 should she be 'Nemesim' but in 114 plain 'puella'? Why 'Nemesim' again in ii. 6, 27, but 'dura puella' in 28? The answer is to be found in the forms of the vocative.

In such Greek words Latin writers had a choice of two, whose functions are distinguished by Charisius, i. 17, 'Mysis o Mysis Terentius ut o crinis funis cinis. Graeci demunt s litteram, nostri parem nominatio uocatiuum custodiunt.' The 'Roman' form was that used in prose and comedy; but it was not tolerated in the refined compositions of the Hellenizing poesy. The evidence may be seen in *Neue Formenlehre* i. pp. 443 sqq. A vocative *Nemesis* would have had an especial unsuitability; Pliny, *N. H.* 11, 251, quoting the gen. *Nemesios*, appends the note 'quae dea Latinum nomen ne in Capitolio quidem inuenit.' Ausonius uses it as we might expect. The Greek form, on the other hand, was metrically unavailable; *Nēmēsī* could only enter the verse by an unexampled elision or a licentious lengthening.

¹ Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, May, 1909.

These forms, I may add, are liable to be corrupted to vocatives in -e, as *Persei* Stat. Theb. 4, 482 (*persae* the MSS.), *Thybrī* Verg. *Aen.* 8, 72 (-e Pal. Rom.), 10, 421 (-e Med. Rom.), or to the more usual -is, as *Thebai* Stat. Theb. 12, 812 (*thebais* several MSS.): especially if unprotected by the metre as at end of a line, e.g. *Phaseli* (-is most MSS.), Lucan 8, 251, *Theti* (-is all MSS.) Prop. iii. 7, 68.

J. P. POSTGATE.

A NOTE ON DIONYSIUS.

De Demosthene, chap. 34, init.

ὀλίγα τοῦτοις ἔτι προσθεῖς περὶ τῆς λέξεως, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον τῆς προκειμένης¹ θεωρίας μέρος μεταβήσομαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν, ἃ τοῖς τρισὶ πλάσμασιν ὁμοίως παρέπεται καὶ ἔστι παντὸς λόγον Δημοσθενικοῦ μηνύματα χαρακτηριστικὰ καὶ ἀννφαίρετα.

THE phrase, τὸ καταλειπόμενον μέρος, has been interpreted as referring to the discussion of 'composition' (σύνθεσις), which occupies the succeeding chapters of the essay. In any case it must refer to the topic with which Dionysius was planning to proceed when he wrote this sentence. There is evidence, however, which indicates that at that time he intended to treat, not 'composition,' but subject matter (τὰ πράγματα) in the remaining part of the essay. In the last sentence in chapter 32, he states that he has completed his proposed treatment of the λεκτικὸς τόπος (βούλομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ συλλογίσασθαι τὰ εἰρημένα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ δεῖξαι πάνθ', ὅσα ὑπεσχόμην ἀρχόμενος τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ λεκτικοῦ τόπου, πεποιηκότα ἑμαυτόν), and in chapter 33 he summarizes the contents of the work up to that point. The καταλειπόμενον μέρος can be nothing else than the πραγματικὸς τόπος, which regularly forms the second part of Dionysius' essays on the orators. But 'composition,' which is treated in the following chapters, belongs under the λεκτικὸς τόπος, and in fact had already been included in the discussion of the various authors in the preceding chapters. Our only way of escape from the difficulty is to suppose that Dionysius finished his treatment

¹ προκειμένης is the conjecture of Usener for a lacuna of about ten letters in Codex Ambrosianus.

of Demosthenes' style with the intention of proceeding immediately (the expression *ὀλίγα τούτοις* 'εἰτι προσθείς refers merely to the remainder of the chapter) to the discussion of his subject matter, but that he abandoned or postponed the treatment of the latter topic, and in its place he discussed at length the subject of 'composition' and its application to Demosthenes. In order to find a reason for this change in his plan, we must look elsewhere.

Blass, *De Dion. Hal. scrip. rhet.*, Bonn, 1863, called attention to the fact that the *De Demosthene* has two references to the *De Compositione* (τοὺς ὑπομηματισμοὺς ἡμῶν λαβῶν, οὓς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πεπραγματεύμεθα, *De Dem.* chap. 49, fin.: τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους πίστεις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως γραφεῖσιν ἀποδεδικώς, *ibid.* chap. 50, fin.), and that on the other hand the *De Compositione* has a reference to the *De Demosthene* (νῦν δὲ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἔστιν ὅτε διαμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον διώκη φράσιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται σαφέστερον, *De Comp.* 77. 6. 118. (Cf. *De Dem.* chaps. 5, 6.) When it is noted that the two references in the *De Demosthene* are found in the second half of that essay (chaps. 49, 50), and that the passage quoted from the *De Compositione* refers to the first half (chaps. 5, 6), it is at once suggested that the *De Compositione* belongs chronologically between the two parts of the *De Demosthene*. We are now in a position to explain the lack of correspondence between the promise found in the passage under discussion and the actual contents of the second half of the essay. After finishing the first half of the essay, Dionysius laid it aside in order to prepare an essay on the arrangement of words, which was to serve as a birthday gift (*De Comp.* chap. 1, init.) to his pupil Rufus Metilius. By a new combination of old materials he was able to present that subject in a manner that marked an important advance over its treatment in the earlier essays. With this new grasp of the subject he returned to the essay on Demosthenes and, instead of proceeding according to his original plan with a discussion of Demosthenes' subject

matter, he restated his doctrine of composition as developed in the *De Compositione* and applied it to Demosthenes.

The failure to recognize the unusual relations existing between the two parts of the essay on Demosthenes has led to some confusion in the interpretation of the *χαρακτῆρες τῆς λέξεως* discussed in the first part of the essay and the *χαρακτῆρες τῆς συνθέσεως* (*ἁρμονίας*), which appear only in the second part. Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. 24, n. 2 (followed by Roberts, *The Three Literary Letters* 18, n. 2), in his desire to make these terms complementary restricted the former to the choice of words (*ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων*), thus leaving the arrangement of words as the peculiar province of *σύνθεσις*. Croiset's statement (*Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* v. 362, n. 1) is more correct in that he makes the *χαρακτῆρες τῆς λέξεως* include both the choice of words and their arrangement. That this was the conception of Dionysius would appear from the fact that he regularly attributes to *λέξις* the same scope of meaning as to the *λεκτικὸς τόπος*, i.e. including both the choice of words and their arrangement, and is more clearly shown by the following passage from the essay on Demosthenes: εἰρηνται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἤδη λέξεις τινές, ἐν αἷς τὸν ὅλον χαρακτῆρα αὐτοῦ τῆς λέξεως ὑπέγραφον, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἴδοι, *De Dem.* 217. 18. 1079, where τὸν ὅλον χαρακτῆρα τῆς λέξεως manifestly includes τὰ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν.

The term *σύνθεσις*, which appears in the title of the *De Compositione* (*περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*), does not retain the same connotation throughout that essay. In the first division of the work, chaps. 1-9, *σύνθεσις* means *σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων* and refers solely to the arrangement of the given words, after selection has been made. In the later chapters both *σύνθεσις* and *ἁρμονία* are often used to cover the whole field of the physical, or rather, the musical aspects of language. In addition to *σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων* we also have ἡ τῶν συλλαβῶν σύνθεσις and αἱ τῶν γραμμάτων συμπλοκαί (*De Comp.* 63. 5. 96). In this new connotation *σύνθεσις* includes not only the arrangement but also the selection of words, so far as it is a question

of their sound effect upon the ear. But it appears that such considerations were not regarded by Dionysius as trespassing on the territory of the ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, which is concerned with the semantic value of words and more particularly the question of the use of simple or metaphorical terms (*De Thuc.* 358. 12. 862: *De Comp.* 124. 12. 195). On the other hand, as regards the arrangement of words, all semantic questions such as clearness and directness of presentation are disregarded in the discussion of σύνθεσις, and the treatment concerns itself solely with the musical effects produced by the various combinations. Such is the use of σύνθεσις in the phrase χαρακτηρὲς τῆς συνθέσεως. It is still the (partial) complement of ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, but it can no longer be adequately translated by 'arrangement of words,' for we must supply not only the limiting genitive τῶν ὀνομάτων but also τῶν συλλαβῶν and τῶν γραμμάτων, and on the other hand it does not include all that we commonly denote by 'arrangement of words.'

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NOTE ON SUETONIUS, *DIVUS JULIUS* 79. 2.

'Plebi regem se salutanti Caesarem se non regem esse respondit.'

THE above reading seems to be accepted as a matter of course in all modern editions of Suetonius.¹

Nevertheless it involves a serious difficulty. At the time of the event narrated the name 'Caesar' can only have been understood as a *personal* one, in strict analogy with Crassus, Cicero, Magnus, etc. Indeed it continued to be nothing more than a cognomen of the gens Julia until the Emperor Claudius usurped it and by so doing took the first step towards converting it into a title of office.

It follows that Caesar's reply, as printed above, contains a comparison of disparate terms. 'I am not king but Caesar' is equivalent to 'I do not hold the regal office, but my family name is Caesar'—a sentence

¹ Ed. Weise (1845); Doergens (1864); Roth (1858 and 1886); Wilkinson (1886); Ihm (1907).

truly worthy of Ollendorff's Grammar. Was this what Caesar meant to say to the bystanders?

A much more plausible sense can be read into the passage if *regem* is spelt with a capital *R*, being thus made to stand for a cognomen strictly co-ordinate with *Caesarem*.

The point of the remark then, becomes clear. Caesar being in the dilemma whether to accept or disown the title *rex* evades the difficulty by pretending to have heard *Rex*, and informs the crowd that they are calling him by a cognomen which isn't his.

Readers of Cicero will be aware that puns met with an indulgent public in the Golden Age of Latin literature. A similar *double entendre* is contained in Horace *Sat.* I. 7. 1: *proscripti Regis Rupili* pus atque venenum. Again, a piece of repartee with which Cicero brought down the Senate house on top of P. Clodius is quite on the lines of Caesar's pun. 'Quosque hunc *regem* feremus?' 'Regem appellas, cum *Rex* tui mentionem nullam fecerit?' (Q. Marcius Rex had disregarded Clodius in a will in which the latter had expected to find something to his advantage).—*Ep. ad Att.* I. 16. 10.

The MS. authority in favour of *Regem* is slight, as this reading only occurs in late copies. But the earlier MSS. print *caesarem* likewise with a minuscule *c*. It would therefore be unsafe to use their spelling as evidence against the capital *R*.

On the other hand the majuscule form is frequently found in editions ranging from 1506 to 1800, and has the countenance of several distinguished scholars, such as Beroaldo, Casaubon, Graevius, Bentley, Oudendorp and Ernesti.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

THE AEGEUS EPISODE, *MEDEA* 663-763.

EDITORS agree in making apologies for this scene. Various defences are raised—the glorification of Athens as protector of the friendless; the provision of a retreat for Medea after the murders.

These are sound defences, but there is more to be said. What are the murders

whose consequences Medea hopes to escape by flying to some tower of refuge (l. 390)? It always seems to be assumed that they include the killing of her children. But in l. 375 Medea proposes only to murder Kreon, Jason and the bride: there is no hint, on her part, of injury to the children. I believe (with Von Arnim, as I have since discovered) that the Aegeus episode is a most important one and that the topic of Aegeus' childlessness suggests to Medea a more subtle form of revenge. What if, instead of killing Jason with his bride, she should let him live, but brideless and childless too? Lines 714-716 contain the critical moment when the new thought strikes her:

οὕτως ἔρως σοὶ πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος
γένοιτο παίδων, καὶ ὅτ' ὅς ὁ λβίος θάνοις
εὐρημα δ' οὐκ οἶσθ' οἷον ἡῤῥηκας τόδε.

'So may thy life close in happiness. Nay thou knowest not the treasure thou here hast found.'

The tragic irony of the last line is most effective. To Aegeus it means: 'you little know the treasure you have found in me'; to Medea and the audience it means: 'you little know the treasure (in a new scheme of vengeance) you have found *for me*.' At the words: 'so mayest thou die happy' there flashes the εὐρημα through her mind: 'so shall Jason die, but not now and not happy'—

οὐτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ παῖδας ὄψεται ποτε
ζῶντας τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτε τῆς νεοφύγου
νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδ' . . . (803-805).

It is significant that as soon as ever Aegeus has left, Medea unfolds her plan of murder which now, for the first time, includes the death of the children (l. 792) and excludes that of Jason.

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ON HORACE, *SERM.* II. VIII. 15.

Chium maris expers. Compare Heraclides, *Allegoriae Homericae* 35: ἔθος γε μὴν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ διαμένειν ἀκλινῇ τὸν

καρπὸν, ἐπικιρνάναι θαλαππίῳ ὕδατι. This passage shows one reason why the Greeks mixed their wine with sea-water; it was to stop the fermentation from going too far, and Professor Collie tells me that such would undoubtedly be the result of this process. This also is one of the reasons why hops are used in making beer; the hop 'is found to be effective in checking continued fermentation and souring' (Lankester in *Daily Telegraph*, June 20, 1908, p. 8).

There can be no doubt therefore (if *maris* here means sea-water) what was wrong with the Chian of Nasidienus; it had gone sour because it had not been properly treated. So also in the imitation by Persius, *sapere nostrum hoc maris expers* means that Greek philosophy had turned sour on the hands of the Romans.

It is true that Athenaeus gives other reasons for the mixture (I. p. 32), but so also you may give other reasons for making beer with hops; the question for the Horatian passage is 'what was the *result* of omitting the sea-water?' New Chian with or without it would be good drinking; Chian exported to Rome without it would infallibly go bad.

ARTHUR PLATT.

STATIUS, *SILVAE*, I. PRAEF. ll. 35-37 (KLOTZ).

SEQUITUR libellus Rutilio Gallico convalescenti dedicatus, de quo nihil dico, ne videar defuncti testis occasione mentiri. Nam Claudii Etrusci testimonium † domum est, etc.

For the corrupt *domum* some word or phrase is needed meaning 'ready to hand,' 'easily accessible.' Read 'testimonium ad manum est,' and compare (e.g.) Livy ix. 19, Adde, quod Romanis *ad manum* domi supplementum *esset*; and Quintilian xii. 5. 1, Haec arma *habere ad manum*.

D. A. SLATER.

[This note reached us on 17 May last; the author afterwards discovered that Sānger had made the same conjecture.—Ed. C.R.J.]

REVIEWS

THE THREE ACTORS (KELLEY REES).

The Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama ; a Dissertation . . . for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By KELLEY REES. University of Chicago Press, 1908. Small Quarto, pp. 86. Price, \$.79.

THIS well-reasoned pamphlet raises a question, which any one, familiar with the present state of enquiry, might have seen to be coming before long. What evidence is there for the common assumption that, at the dramatic festivals of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the number of actors performing in a tragedy (or a comedy) was normally limited to three, or limited at all?

It is of course notorious, and is proved both by extant plays and unimpeachable testimony, that, as a general rule with occasional exceptions, three was, in tragedy, the greatest number of characters permitted to take part in the same scene and dialogue. Even tripartite dialogue tended to fall into a series of duos, and beyond the tripartite form complication was not extended. Aristotle notes the limit as matter of fact, and Horace presents it as a precept. It was not a law; it was not absolute or universal as a practice; but it was a general practice, and, so understood, is unquestionable.

The practice has certain obvious advantages (in securing clearness of situation and relation, and otherwise) from the Greek point of view. If it had not, Aristotle would not have treated it as he does,—as a limit natural to the type of tragedy which he knew, and as completing finally the normal development of that type. But, having such cause and sanction, the limit of practice does not prove, by its existence, the existence of any mechanical compulsion or necessity for it. The general preference of dialogue in parts not exceeding three does not, in itself, throw any light on the question how many actors the dramatists had at their disposal.

But, for plays so constructed, performance by three actors only (with a little help occasionally to turn a difficulty) would be possible,

however many the characters, provided that there was no limit to 'doubling,' that is, to the multiplication of characters played by a single actor. And, with the use of masks for all parts, any amount of doubling, however unsatisfactory or inartistic, becomes possible.

Now there is full evidence that, from the fourth century B.C. onwards, when acting in Greece had become a common profession, practised for profit by private persons and private associations, this possible economy of players was freely used, and plays, including those of classical tragedy (or, more probably, acting-editions of them, cut and garbled for the purpose), were habitually, and perhaps regularly, performed by parties of three.

But the use of this economy, by those for whom economy was an essential object, affords in itself no presumption whatever, that such thrift was even permitted, much less that it was imposed as a regulation, in the public festivals of imperial Athens. And on the other hand, the economic practice of centuries does afford some reason for discounting the testimony of scholars, named or anonymous, who, in times near or posterior to the Christian era, say or imply that Sophocles and Euripides were restricted from the first to that allowance of performers which had subsequently been established by commercial custom. That these antiquarians could make mistakes is certain; and here is a mistake which they were likely to make, a pit prepared for their feet.

By the texts of the extant plays their statement is (to say the least) not fortified. It may conceivably be true, it is not strictly impossible, that, as the 'three-actor rule' would require us to suppose, Aeschylus in the *Choephori* meant a 'Servant' to be transformed into 'Pylades' within a few minutes or seconds; that in the *Oedipus at Colonus* Sophocles expected to have the part of Theseus divided, for different scenes, between three distinct performers; that in the *Ion* (for example), and in the tragedies of Euripides

and Sophocles generally, a whole series of important and incongruous personations was, by the design of the authors, to be accumulated upon the least accomplished member of a company consisting of three. These things are conceivable; but they would certainly not suggest themselves to a reader of the poets; nor, as a fact, do readers really and effectively imagine them.

And further, of what passed as testimony for the rule, part at all events, a considerable part, has been long seen to admit and even require a different interpretation.¹

It was high time then to raise, as Mr. Rees does raise, the question, what precisely is the weight of such evidence for the rule as may be supposed to remain. His conclusion is that the evidence is insufficient, indeed almost nothing, and that, for anything we know to the contrary, Euripides (and *a fortiori* Aristophanes) may have commanded, at the Dionysia or the Lenaea, as many performers as there were characters in the play. And for myself I have only to say, provisionally and subject to what may be alleged on the other side, that I agree with him. The investigation, however slight may be its bearing upon the enjoyment of the plays in a book, is historically important, and interesting in itself as a specimen of development in opinion.

But it will be observed—any critic may observe it in himself—that the impugner of a tradition is apt to be emphatic in confirmation of any commonly accepted belief, which he is not, for the moment, concerned to deny. A heretic likes to show incidentally that he is at all events no reckless iconoclast. We see therefore without surprise that Mr. Rees, whose business is to deny, so far as concerns the original performances, the limitation of classical drama to three *actors*, affirms strongly, and even with a certain solemnity, his adherence to another modern doctrine, which he touches incidentally, but does not discuss. He assumes that the limitation of the *scene or dialogue* to a tripartite form, a limitation which, as he truly says, has no inherent connexion whatever with the supposed rule of ‘three performers,’ was not only

a general and typical practice (as it was), but almost universal; and he repeats the common statement, that the extant tragedies of the fifth century exhibit no departure from it, that there is no instance, in our three tragedians,² of a scene demanding a fourth speaker.

This is not the fact, and is not even commended, like the three-actor rule, by the testimony of ancient, if insufficient, witnesses. Our principal witness (Pollux iv. 109) asserts the contrary, specifying two different kinds of exception to the general practice, and adding expressly that one of these exceptions is illustrated by the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. So it is. The *Agamemnon*, rightly understood and properly cast, could not be played by three speakers only in addition to the principal chorus. I have discussed the case in my editions of the play, particularly in an appendix to the second edition.

Nor is there any reason to think that this exception is unique. The limitation to tripartite dialogue, as a *normal* form, has aesthetic and artistic justification. But if it had been applied rigidly, it would have been irrational, inartistic, and absurd. Whatever the number of the principal group in a scene, whether two, three, or what else, there will be situations in which a composer will desire and need an incidental remark from a by-stander; and a by-stander appropriate to the occasion could not always be supplied from such a body as the Chorus of Greek tragedy. There never was any reason to doubt (and there is less than none, so to say, if we are to accept the views of Mr. Rees respecting the number of performers) the ancient doctrine that in such cases the tragic poets of Athens in the great age obeyed common sense, and, without thereby infringing their general principle, introduced, and provided with words, extraneous and subordinate personages, when the situation could not otherwise be well expressed.

In our MSS., where the cast and distribution is everywhere slovenly and incorrect, we could not expect that these exceptional discriminations would be preserved. They

¹ νικήσεις ὑποκριτῶν in Hesychius and Photius.—Rees, p. 18.

² Excluding the *Rhesus*, according to the now common but dubious opinion, as a work of the fourth century, and possibly not meant for performance.

have disappeared in one case (the *Agamemnon*) where we have positive testimony that they once existed. And they have probably disappeared elsewhere. The little parts of the necessary 'citizen,' 'guard,' 'servant' or the like, have naturally lost their designations, and lapsed to the Chorus, or to any one whom the copyist had in mind. Thus in the *Bacchae*, a speech of three verses (775 ff.) is assigned, in despite of sense, to the Chorus. It appears to be spoken by a by-stander, a subject or servant of Pentheus;¹ and this personage with the others present (the Messenger from Cithaeron, Pentheus, and Dionysus) makes a fourth. Other like instances may be suspected, as I have myself suggested, in the final scenes of the *Choephoroi* and of the *Eumenides*. Every such case is a matter for judgment, of more or less probability upon the evidence. But such did occur; and they should be supposed wherever the sense, upon a fair construction, so indicates.

Distinct, though not unconnected with the subject, is the question of the mask, upon which also Mr. Rees touches, but prudently gives no opinion. If, as he thinks and I think, the original performers of Sophocles and Euripides were not limited in number, the universal use of the mask is not, for those times, a supposition necessary to make the performances possible. But we must not, merely for that reason, deny it.²

¹ This example has been recently pointed out in some English publication. To my vexation, I have lost and cannot recover the reference. Will any one supply it? To the same speaker belongs apparently v. 847, for which no speaker can be found in the ordinary cast.

² In P. 19. Note 1, for *Phoenissae* read *Phoenix*.

Cognate in subject with the dissertation of Mr. Rees, and a product of the same active school, is that of Mr. J. B. O'Connor entitled *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, together with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum*.³ The three 'chapters' deal respectively with (1) terminology (the meaning and use of ὑποκριτής and other such technical words); (2) the well-maintained distinction between the professions of tragic actor and comic; and (3) the Actors' Contests at Athens. But the most useful and not the least interesting part is the Appendix, a catalogue of 'all tragic and comic actors who are mentioned by the Greek writers down to and including Athenaeus, and all who are found in the inscriptions, with notes upon each.' It includes very properly the name of the Emperor Nero. *Qualis artifex periret!*

In the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* Vol. xliii. No. 17, Mr. W. P. Dickey discusses the practice of Greek epic and tragedy in the interposition of 'delays' between the promise and the realisation of a scene of recognition (ἀναγνώρισις). He concludes, with some hesitation, that this consideration favours the genuineness of the disputed passage in Euripides' *Electra* (518 ff.), which recalls the recognition in the *Choephoroi*; the passage gives (perhaps) a more probable length of 'delay.' Whatever the strength of this evidence, the conclusion is to be commended, the forgery and establishment of such a passage being not only difficult but scarcely conceivable.

A. W. VERRALL.

³ University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 144. Price \$1.06.

BUTLER'S POST-AUGUSTAN POETRY.

THIS volume is one of several signs pointing to a reaction against the contempt into which Latin poetry of the Silver Age had fallen. It had, no doubt, been carried to excess: yet it seems impossible to believe that that

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poetry can ever again be taken quite seriously as a factor in human culture. Two main causes may be assigned for the degree in which it has regained attention. In the first place, it is now studied not merely as litera-

ture, but in connection with the whole social and intellectual movement of its time; of a century, that is to say, which is one of the most momentous and one of the most painfully fascinating in history. It is part of the problem of the Roman Empire. A second, and a less important reason, but one of which account must be taken, is the curious periodic movement of fashion, which in literature as in the other arts brings up, at almost calculable intervals, the schools which once held the field, and then fell out of repute under the sweeping reproach of representing the mere product of a dead classicism, to have their claims once more considered, the judgment on them revised, and their organic place and value in the history of their art more scientifically assigned.

Mr. Butler's volume is an attempt to do this with the series of Latin poets from Seneca to Juvenal. That series of writers does not, of course, constitute any organic whole. They represent several schools, several movements; and these have no unity of convergence any more than they have unity of substance. This is what distinguishes the Latin poetry of the Silver Age sharply from the Greek poetry of the Alexandrians. The Alexandrians, along many different lines, were feeling and experimenting towards a new poetry, and a new relation of poetry to life. Their achievement in this way was very considerable, and their influence on subsequent literature so great that it can hardly be exaggerated. The Latin poets of the Silver Age on the whole—the exceptions are very few in number and very small in bulk—worked within a closed field. They added, one may say with substantial truth, nothing either to the poetical interpretation of life or to the future development of poetry. It is this fact which makes it impossible to regard them with enthusiasm, or with any higher feeling than the respect due to capable artificers. Neglecting the minor writers, we find eight names included in Mr. Butler's volume, which by the amount or quality of their production claim detailed treatment: Seneca, Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus, Martial, and Juvenal. Of these eight, none are in the first rank of Latin poets, and only three, at most, in the

second. Statius stands out from the rest in virtue of a real though thin poetical quality, Juvenal in virtue of a harsh power and violent moral earnestness that kindle his verse to a dull red heat; Lucan, though deeply infected by the false taste of his age, and still more deeply by a false taste of his own, cannot be denied high gifts of imagination and expression. But they are not, in the full sense, 'live' poets: the current does not flow through them. Except for such inherent poetical value as their work may be considered to possess in itself—as to the amount of this value opinions may reasonably differ—it would not make any difference to the evolution and life of poetry whether they had existed or not. Still less would this be so as regards Persius, the author of that little volume of boyish essays in verse which yet has an aromatic flavour and subtle charm of its own: still less, and indeed not at all, with the other two epicists, Valerius and Silius, of whom the one might perhaps best be criticised by saying, in a phrase inverted from Johnson's, that it were vain to praise and useless to blame him, and the other is only remarkable as the author of what has claims to be considered as the worst epic ever written. The two, out of all the eight, who count in the development and progress of the art of poetry, are Seneca and Martial. The former had an immense influence over the modern European drama when it came to birth in the later Renaissance. The latter exercised an influence as great, and even more baleful, on the whole of those kinds of poetry which are classed under, or attach themselves as akin to, the general term of the epigram. Now of these two authors, who in this way, in the historical or organic view, represent their period most effectively, the poetry of Seneca is vicious alike in structural, verbal, musical, and imaginative quality; and there is not a single piece out of Martial's fifteen hundred to which it would be proper to apply the name of poetry at all.

Mr. Butler has approached his task not only with knowledge and scholarship, but with judgment and a measure of enthusiasm. His volume is more than a mere handbook to a period in literature; it is a serious attempt to place that period and its product,

to disengage and fix its value. It may be fairly said that he has kept clear on the whole of what is the besetting danger of such an attempt, that of investing the authors chosen for critical study with exaggerated merits. *Omnia nostra dum scribuntur placent, alioqui nec scriberentur*, says Quintilian; and it is equally true that *omnes nostri dum de iis scribimus placent, alioqui nec scriberemus*. But he has not entirely escaped it. Of the passage in the *Pharsalia*, describing the parting of Pompeius from his wife:

Sic fata relictis

Exsiluit stratis amens tormenta que nulla
Vult differre mora. Non maesti pectora Magni
Sustinet amplexu dulci, non colla tenere,
Extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris,
Præcipitantque suos luctus, neuterque recedens
Sustinuit dixisse 'vale,' vitamque per omnem
Nulla fuit tam maesta dies; nam cetera damna
Durata iam mente malis firmaque tulerunt,

it is surely a grave exaggeration to say that 'with the simplest words and the most severe economy of diction, he produces an effect such as Virgil rarely surpassed, and such as was never excelled or equalled again in the poetry of Southern Europe till Dante told the story of Paolo and Francesca.' Or again, to say of the simile in the *Thebais* of Pluto taking possession of his kingdom:

Qualis

Demissus curru laevae post praemia sortis
Umbrarum custos mundique novissimus heres
Palluit amisso veniens in Tartara caelo—

that 'the picture is Miltonic, and Pluto is for a brief moment almost an anticipation of the Satan of *Paradise Lost*' is to confuse things which are essentially different. But, notwithstanding such defects, which are only defects of immaturity, and are not dangerous, one cannot read the book without gaining from it a clearer view of its subject. It will prove useful and enlightening, not only towards the focussing and defining of the impressions left by reading the post-Augustan poets, but as a guide towards reading them, a *carte du pays* which may be studied with advantage before undertaking the tour through a country where the distances are long and the scenery often very dull.

His scheme is in the case of each author first to set forth what is known of his life, then to give a sketch of his works, to indicate

their scope and method, and to discuss the treatment in some detail, laying (as is right) most stress upon such merits as the work may possess, and illustrating them by well-chosen quotations. Of passages which are quoted an English translation is added, usually Mr. Butler's own, sometimes from a verse rendering—Mr. Miller's of Seneca, Dryden's and Gifford's of Juvenal, those of Martial's epigrams by various hands. There are arguments for and against this practice. It is useful for readers who are imperfect scholars; it may be doubted, however, whether the translation does not sometimes tend—as it must do with an indolent reader—to blunt the effect of the Latin, and to impair the more exact appreciation which it is Mr. Butler's object to effect. For translations, at least prose translations of poetry, have an almost incurable tendency to be alike. Only in the hands of genius can they reproduce the sharp difference between poetry of the first rank and of the second; yet that difference, verbally so slight, is poetically infinite. One instance will serve for many. A passage singled out for high praise by Mr. Butler is that in Book II. of the *Argonautica*:

Ac velut ignota captus regione viarum
Noctivagum qui carpit iter non aure quiescit,
Non oculis, noctisque metus niger augeat utrinque
Campus et occurrens umbris maioribus arbor,
Haud aliter trepidare viri.

He adds the following prose rendering: 'And as one benighted in a strange place 'mid paths unknown pursues his devious journey through the night and finds rest neither for eye nor ear, but all about him the blackness of the plain, and the trees that throng upon him seen greater through the gloom, deepen his terror of the dark—even so the heroes trembled.' The translation is almost indistinguishable from a translation of Virgil: it blurs what is the really important thing to realise, that the Latin is merely clever machine-made imitation, a piece of academic and (if I may venture to differ from Mr. Butler) of lifeless Virgilianism.

Where one is also inclined to differ from him is on a point which is of importance as touching on the whole basis of literary criticism. In his interesting introductory chapter he reveals his own point of view in

the words 'Roman literature came too late.' This is, of course, a tenable view, perhaps even the orthodox view. But it tends to confuse two things which are distinct. Except on a theory of the progressive degeneration of mankind, chronological 'lateness' has nothing to do with inferior imaginative quality. 'It was hard,' Mr. Butler goes on to say, 'for the imitative Roman to be original.' No doubt. But, cleared of the ambiguity of terms, is this anything more than an identical proposition?

Apart from a certain fallacy involved (as it seems to the present writer) in this fundamental point of view, Mr. Butler's particular criticisms are usually just and sound. One may question a few of them. Is Ovid really 'the most heartless of poets'? Is it the case that 'Alexandrian learning becomes more

prominent and more oppressive' in the post-Augustans than it had been in the Augustans themselves? Is it true that the verse of Petronius 'at its best has a charm and fragrance of its own that is almost unique in Latin'? But against these few judgments, which are, to say the least, questionable, are to be set many others which are excellent; and nothing could be better than Mr. Butler's general summing-up of the period: 'It produced a few men of genius, while even in the works of those who were far removed from genius, the very fact that there is much refinement of wit, much triumphing over technical difficulties, much elaborate felicity of expression, makes them always a curious and at times a remunerative study.'

J. W. MACKAIL.

TWO BOOKS ON PLATONIC THEORY.

La Théorie Platonicienne de l'Amour. Par LÉON ROBIN, Agrégé de Philosophie, Professeur au Lycée d'Angers, Docteur ès Lettres. 1 vol. in 8 de la *Collection Historique des Grands Philosophes*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1908. Fr. 3.75.

THE general reader who has questioned the origin of the phrase 'Platonic friendship,' or 'Platonic love,' will find the idea traced to its source in this little volume. After a careful comparison of the *Lysis*, *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, it is shown that "Ἔρως, be it physical or intellectual, is a *μανία* which arises by divine inspiration in a soul that is neither entirely perfect nor entirely depraved and stimulates it to the acquisition of that in which it is lacking, viz., immortality, whether after the flesh or after the spirit. To the *Phaedrus* we owe the particularly philosophic view of "Ἔρως, through which it is described as a process akin to that of the Dialectic of *Republic* vi.: the soul, being by nature partly mortal and partly immortal, is filled at the sight of a beautiful object with reminiscence of the idea of Beauty which it once beheld in the Supracelestial Region at the time of its pre-natal existence, and, if the course of his passion be chastened and controlled by the recollection of his

divine vision, the Lover may rise gradually, together with the Beloved, to renewed contemplation of Beauty and Truth. Therefore intellectual is superior to carnal love in precisely the same degree as the eternal perfection of the idea transcends the fleeting mutability of its copy.

M. Robin is not convincing when he descends to the chronological problem of the *Lysis*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo* and *Phaedrus*, and boldly places the *Phaedrus* not merely after the *Lysis*, *Symposium* and *Phaedo*, but probably the *Timaeus*, ranking it with the *Laws* as a product of Plato's old age. While freely acknowledging that the stylometric indications in favour of this should be discountenanced as being of doubtful value, he avows that the *Phaedrus* must be on the one hand posterior to the *Phaedo* and *Republic*, owing to its allusion to the Theban Simmias (242 A.B.) and the tripartite division of soul (here accepted as a matter of course), and on the other hand contemporaneous with the *Timaeus* and the *Laws* because of the affinity of myths in the one case and the identity of the proof of immortality in the other. In regard to the tripartite division of soul, one can only say that M. Robin has here and elsewhere made too rigorous inferences from the mythical element of the

Phaedrus; and the fact that the proof for immortality in the *Laws* is the same as that of the *Phaedrus* need not have all the significance he imagines. When one examines the dialogues from the point of view of their central metaphysical doctrine, viz., that of the ideas, one feels that the interval between the ideal theory in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Philebus* or *Timaeus* is too great to be bridged over by any of the ingenious arguments adduced by M. Robin.

It is gratifying to note that M. Robin, in spite of his prejudice in chronology, is content to make the *Ἔπος* of the *Phaedrus* slightly inferior to Dialectic; *Ἔπος* is an activity of composite soul functioning as Reason and Sensation, Dialectic is the activity proper to it in its purest form of Reason.

One cannot but demur to a statement on p. 137 to the effect that Plato positively believed in the existence of *δαίμονες* because of the important place taken by these divinities in the doctrines of his successors.

Apart from a few debatable points of this kind the book furnishes an interesting study of an aspect of Platonism that has as yet, perhaps, been insufficiently emphasised.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS.

La Théorie Platonicienne des Idées et des Nombres d'après Aristote. Étude Historique et Critique. Par LÉON ROBIN, Docteur ès Lettres, Agrégé de Philosophie, Professeur au Lycée d'Angers. 1 vol. in-8 de la *Collection Historique des Grands Philosophes*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1908. Fr. 12.50.

THE appearance of this comprehensive work by M. Robin, together with a promise of further volumes dealing with the same subject, seems to speak of a revived interest in the old problem concerning the Platonic ideas and numbers. The present volume is the first link in a chain of evidence through which the author hopes 'to ascertain the probable significance of the philosophy of Plato.' His point of departure is, strange to say, a study of Aristotle and his successors, the examination of the Platonic dialogues

themselves being reserved for another occasion. By following this route he hopes to escape from being carried away by the blasts of modern doctrine, which have served to blind the eyes of many an interpreter of Plato. Whether one expects him to succeed or not, the boldness of the scheme certainly commands admiration, and he has assuredly spared no pains to make his investigation as complete as possible.

As regards the plan of the book, we find the subject-matter conveniently divided into books and chapters, which deal successively with the 'Theory of Ideas' in general, the Platonic theory of numbers and figures, and the *στοιχεῖα* or foundation principles of the ideas. The uniform method is to give first a detailed reproduction of Aristotle's exposition of the topic, then an account of the Aristotelian critique, with finally a critical examination of the critique itself. Here one may mention the need of a shorter *résumé* of the Aristotelian evidence; it is decidedly a strain to be obliged not merely to read through the almost incoherent remarks of Aristotle, but to retain them in mind long enough to enable one to appraise M. Robin's comment aright. One would welcome either a shorter paraphrase of Aristotle, with references to the text, or a tabulated outline of his subject-matter as an appendix to the paraphrase as now given.

With M. Robin's assessment of the value of Aristotle's criticisms one cannot but agree. For the most part these criticisms by their perversity, inappropriateness, and incoherence are rendered even more futile than some of the doctrines criticised, and that is saying much. M. Robin's favourite device is to refute Aristotle by a *tu quoque* argument, showing that the latter's views possess the same vices as those he imputes to Plato; this does not prove, of course, that Plato was in the right, but when one considers how much store Aristotle set by his own doctrine, it effectually prevents one from paying any serious attention to his diatribe.

The general conclusion reached by M. Robin's research into the *Metaphysics* is that it embodies largely a Neo-Platonic phase of the Ideal Theory. With this no one can quarrel, but one cannot help lamenting

the fact that he did not try more systematically to distinguish the Neo-Platonic and the earlier elements. The sum of his results is contained in the 'Essai d'Interprétation' (Chap. III. of Book II.). The whole of the information vouchsafed by Aristotle is there fitted together and welded into a harmonious whole, a restoration which strikes one as being remarkably elaborate, though one cannot but admire the symmetry of the edifice. M. Robin's first task was to account for Plato's supposed statement that Number is generated out of the One and the Indefinite Dyad of τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν. The dyad is understood to be an indeterminate power of progression and regression, upon which the One exercises continually a limiting effect. The progression of the dyad is seen in the formation of the ideal 2, the ideal 4, etc., its regression in that of the ideal 3, which is obtained by the action of the limiting One *before* the equalisation of the dyad in the ideal 4 is complete. Similarly the number 5 is the result of the contact of the progression from 4 and the regression from 6. The numbers thus produced are all *ideal* numbers, as opposed to mathematical numbers, which are obtained by simple addition of units, and they do not extend beyond 10, for the generation of the ten ideal numbers serves as model for the generation of all other numbers. This ideal series of ten M. Robin takes to be quite different from the ideas and the ideal figures, the two latter holding an inferior position but possessing a parallel nature, for throughout the whole range of existences one finds the recurring στοιχεῖα of the εἶν and the ἀόριστος δυνάς. To save time, one might arrange the scheme of existence thus: (1) Ideal series of ten, (2) Ideal Figures, (3) Ideas, (4) Mathematical Numbers, (5) Geometrical Figures, (6) Sensibles.

The whole elaborate exposition is crystallised in the view taken of the αὐτὸ ζῶον, the world-animal mentioned by Aristotle in the *De Anima*. The universal animal is seen in three phases, the purely intelligible, the intermediate, and the sensible, in each of which aspects it possesses both body and soul, and is composed of the One and the dyad.

Such is the reconstruction of Platonic theory made by M. Robin out of the hotch-

potch of gossip in which Aristotle indulges in the *Metaphysics*. It does not profess to be an explanation, or even an account, of Plato's own views, and therefore our judgment as to its value must be withheld until M. Robin has realised his full purpose, and given us his final conclusions drawn from a revision of the Aristotelian data in the light of the Platonic dialogues themselves. Till then the most one can do is to criticise within the field that M. Robin has himself marked out, and to notice one or two instances in which his zeal for regularity and symmetry has led him to do violence to his self-chosen authority. M. Robin has, for the most part, taken Aristotle's statements *en bloc*, and has erected therefrom one consistent theory. This seems to me to be a dangerous proceeding in face of the various passages in which it has been admitted that there were divergences between the earlier and later exponents of the theory—divergences which obviously affect several details in M. Robin's exposition. For instance, he includes without question in his comprehensive summary of the Platonic system the fact that the series of ideal numbers went only as far as the δέκας. Ought this to be included in a general summary when even Aristotle says: εἰ μέχρι τῆς δεκάδος ὁ ἀριθμός, ὥσπερ τινὲς φασιν (M. 8. 1084 a 12)? (See also A. 8. 1073 a 18-20.) Then, it will have been noticed that this method admits only one possibility in regard to the statements that the Platonists made mathematical number distinct from ideal number, viz., that it was a fundamental principle of orthodox Platonic doctrine. There is at least one other possibility, that this particular principle was embraced by a special sect of Platonism as a leading tenet, and used as the stock upon which to engraft various mathematical extravagances. Such a view is quite as much in accord with Aristotle as M. Robin's own, and none of the texts adduced by him on p. 439 can be said to preclude it.

The present and many another interpretation may, it seems to me, be deduced with equal legitimacy from Aristotle's confused evidence; and the weakness of M. Robin's scheme is that he has begun on this unstable foundation. The absolute incoherence of

Aristotle's information seems to counter-balance the disadvantage of the prejudices incurred by beginning the other way round. However, the time for the final award is not

yet, and now that M. Robin has accomplished the most tedious part of his performance, we may look forward to a speedy realisation of the rest.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS.

THE NUMBER NINE.

Enneadische Studien, Versuch einer Geschichte der Neunzahl bei den Griechen, mit besonderen Berücksichtigung des ält Epos der Philosophen und Ärzte. Von W. H. ROSCHER. Leipzig: D. G. Teubner, 1907. M. 6.

THIS work, the fourth of a series dealing with the use of the numbers seven and nine (viz. *Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen; Die Sieben und Neunzahl in Kultus und Mythos der Griechen; Die Hebdomadenlehren der griechischen Philosophie und Ärzte, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Medizin*) puts the study of the number nine on a broader basis than the three previous essays. Roscher deals with his subject in several divisions which cover its use from Epic up to the time of the Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists. In such an investigation a great many instances must of course be cited, and there is no lack of material. In dealing with the cults and myths of Greece generally, Roscher finds that seven plays a wider part than nine; on the other hand, in Epic poetry nine plays the wider part (e.g. the constant formula of the *Odyssey* ἐννήμερον φέρομεν, δεκάτη δὲ . . .). The use of the number nine in the cult of the dead is interesting; nine days the women of Troy wailed for Hector, and his funeral pyre was nine days in building; for nine days Niobe mourned her unburied children; and the instances might be multiplied to great length. In the Nekyia the measurement of the trench goes by nines, and Roscher not unreasonably concludes that the use of nine in details such as these follows on its use as a period for wailing and other funeral observances. In connection with this one may mention a point which Roscher brings out in dealing with the Orphics; both

Pythagoreans and Orphics regarded the number nine as κορυφήτις or κόρη and this, he holds, is due to the use of nine in the cult of the dead from which the number would become connected with Persephone, ἡ κόρη par excellence. The use of the number nine is traced among the Orphics and Pythagoreans, in the dialogues of Plato, though their use of number does not offer a very wide field to the investigator; it appears in many instances to be derived from Pythagorean sources. The Hippocratic writings and later books of a medical nature such as the *Φύσικος* of Joannes Lydus yield instances of the use of both seven and nine; the use of seven is the more frequent. In the development of the embryo and birth both seven and nine (also ten) were counted auspicious numbers, but nine was the more usual; and one may with safety conclude that this was a not unimportant factor in the significance of the number. Strangely enough Roscher does not refer to Adam's discussion of the nuptial number of Plato, a striking omission in view of the fact that Adam shows that the famous number of the *Republic VIII* had just the significance and origin that is here suggested for the use of nine.

In the last chapter Roscher collects various examples of the use of nine in connection with husbandry, natural science, music, etc.

It seems very reasonable to agree with Roscher that the month of twenty-eight days divided into three weeks of nine days each was an important factor in the significant use of the number.

The value and usefulness of the book are increased by an excellent précis of contents, an index of moderate merits and a list of authorities. Humour and human interest the student must provide for himself.

S. E. JACKSON.

ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS.

Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire. By LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER. Authorised Translation of the Seventh Enlarged and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*. By LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B. 8vo. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited. Pp. xxviii, 428.

PROFESSOR FRIEDLÄNDER has been unfortunate. His *Sittengeschichte* has had to wait nearly forty-seven years for an English translator, and now it has fallen into incompetent hands. It is surely not unreasonable to ask of the translator of a German work on a Latin subject the ability to write sound intelligible English, a thorough knowledge of German and Latin, and the exercise of ordinary care. Mr. Magnus, whose version of the first half of the *Sittengeschichte* was published a few months ago, satisfies none of these modest demands. Here are some specimens of his English: (p. 96) 'The imperial table scarcely excelled private banquets in respect of fare, but in the dishes, the state and the service, a difference that scarce can have arisen before the end of the first century, and varying at various times.' . . . (p. 18) 'But the prices of other necessities of life were also very high, and such as those of wood and food scarcely to be had by the poor.' . . . (p. 229) 'Roman fairytales began like ours: "There was, once upon a day, a king and queen."' . . . Again (p. 94) 'Otho . . . dined eighty senators, some with their wives together'—which looks like a literal translation of *einige mit ihren Gattinnen zusammen*, but is in point of fact a quite wanton outrage on English idiom.

Such parts of the book as I have read are full of inaccuracies, all of them unnecessary, some of them unpardonable. Thus (p. 6): 'All Rome, says Martial in 92 A.D., had become one big tavern, all the streets were taken possession of by dealers and tradesmen, butchers, publicans and barbers.' The context ought to have made Mr. Magnus suspect that Martial did not say 'tavern.' Neither did he; he said *taberna*, which here certainly means 'shop.' Frdl. renders by *Taberne*, a word now obsolescent, but

commonly enough used to translate the ambiguous *taberna*. Mr. Magnus did not take the trouble to find out the meaning of the word, but risked 'tavern.' On p. 19 we are informed that the 'shepherds' used to come into town to sell their milk—apparently sheep's milk: but Frdl. says *Hirten*, which is not ordinary German for 'shepherds,' and may denote goat-herds or cow-herds as well as sheep-herds.

It is, alas! only too true that some of the Roman Emperors were sad dogs; but that is no reason why the translator should speak of their 'amours' (p. 30) when Frdl. uses the innocent word *Liebhabereien*. The author says that the Younger Pliny gives vent to his indignation at the arrogance of Domitian (*seinem Unmut . . . Luft macht*); his translator, obviously reading *Lust macht*, ignores *seinem Unmut* and renders (p. 95) 'makes fun of'—for which, moreover, *Lust macht* is very doubtful German. *Possenreisser* becomes in this precious version (p. 95) 'jugglers'; *Kleinasien* is rendered (p. 14) 'Little Asia.' The highest commendation of Greek women, we are told at p. 239, was 'to occupy their husbands' thoughts, as little as might be, either for good or for evil.' Frdl. is, of course, no less careful than Perikles to say 'men's,' not 'their husbands,' but once more Mr. Magnus has made a ludicrous mistake. On p. 236 mimes the performances are confused with mimes the performers.

I have not hunted through this astonishing work for faults, but have merely noted down some of the more obvious ones that have presented themselves in the few pages I have had the patience to read. I have said nothing of the many unnecessary omissions of words and phrases. It is time that a vigorous protest was entered against the tendency of publishers to entrust the translation of valuable works to unqualified persons, thereby bringing discredit not merely upon themselves but also upon British scholarship. And how is a University teacher to put a translation like this into the hands of students who are not sufficiently far advanced to wrestle with the German for themselves? F. A. T.

Sydney.

POPULAR LATIN.

Les Éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin.

Par A. ERNOUT, docteur-ès-lettres, élève diplômé de l'École des Hautes Études.

Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1909. Pp. 255. Fr. 7.50.

Recherches sur l'emploi du passif latin à l'époque républicaine. Par A. ERNOUT, etc., etc. 1909. Pp. 61. Fr. 3.

THE study of the popular dialects as opposed to the literary language seems to be the only means of escape from the *impasse* to which linguistic science must be said to have come. Much can be done with the help of the blessed word *Analogy* to relieve the pressure exerted by the *Ausnahmslosigkeit* of the Sound Laws, but after analogical influence has been assumed to the utmost legitimate extent, much still remains in the literary language that defies explanation. When it is remembered that a literary language, such as our own, is to a large extent the result of a mixture of dialects, each of which Sound Laws of its own must have at one time moulded, we are driven to the admission that Sound Laws, however much we may accept them in theory, do not in practice give much assistance. A Law based on the assumption that a certain number of words exhibiting the same phenomenon, belong in their actual form to one dialect, is necessarily at the mercy of historical or other evidence to the contrary. For example, proof that *auillus* and *fauissa* were borrowed from a non-Roman dialect would deal a staggering blow to the law of Thurneysen and Havet. It would therefore seem that a phonological treatment of a composite language—and that means the majority of literary languages—must be based on a knowledge of the historical conditions under which they grew. To speak otherwise of dialect influence is merely a confession that the Sound Laws we set up are not justified by the evidence.

M. Ernout's study of the non-Roman elements in the language of the City is divided into four chapters. The first gives a résumé of the geographical and the historical conditions affecting the relations of the

Romans with their neighbours. Then follows a brief account of the ancient evidence on the subject of Italic dialects. A discussion of a number of points in Latin phonology is followed by a Lexicon—which makes up the greater part of the book—with detailed treatment of all the words in which the author detects dialect influence. A full index of Latin words, and an imposing, though incomplete, list of *Errata*, close the volume.

The difficulty of the task which M. Ernout has undertaken is immense, and M. Ernout has certainly not solved all the difficulties he has raised. How much the language of Rome owed to those of the neighbouring tribes can never be known. For our author, naturally, an intervocalic *s* is a sign of a non-Roman word, but how many words did the Romans borrow before the middle of the fourth century? The same difficulty will apply elsewhere, and the alternatives are either (1) to refuse the name 'dialectal' to that portion of the Roman vocabulary borrowed before a certain, and it may be, relatively late, date, or (2) to admit that the materials at our disposal are not sufficient to justify such an enterprise as M. Ernout has undertaken. Another difficulty is that of determining the boundaries of dialect. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *G.G.A.* Feb. 1909, 138 ff. The anecdote of Vespasian and Mestrius Florus suggests that within the wall of Rome itself there were dialects and dialects, and that, consequently, when a Roman writer employs a word that offends against a Latin Sound Law, we are not necessarily to go to the Sabines or to Praeneste for an explanation. If the population of Rome was heterogeneous, it is scarcely likely that all classes in the city changed the sounds of their language *pari passu*.

To mention a few points of detail. The name *Roma* is concluded to be non-Idg., p. 50, without any reference to its possible connection with the names of the twin brothers, or reference to Kretschmer's article *Glotta* i. 288 ff. (cf. more recently, Soltau, *Philologus* lxxviii. 154). And here one may express regret that M. Ernout has not

appended a Bibliography, which in a book of this kind is always valuable to other investigators. On p. 64, *clingo* appears to be connected by M. Ernout with O.E. *hring*: some proof of the interchange of *l* and *r* in western Idg.—apart from cases of dissimilation—would be interesting. M. Ernout, though he speaks of labiovelars, p. 71, does not appear to make any distinction between the different classes of gutturals. His proof that *canis* is dialectal I cannot follow: all that is apparent is that he takes the guttural in *canis* and in *equos* to be the same as in *iecur* and *sequor*. In any case *canis* must correspond to Skt. *ṣunī* < **ḥun-* and not “**ḥ^{wo}nis*.” If, with Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 102, we postulate a √*ḥeyō*, the explanation of *canis* becomes easy. Side by side in Latin we would have *m.* **cauo* < **ḥoyō*, **caunis*, cf. *caro*, *carnis*, and *f.* **cunī-s*, the vowel of which was brought into line with the masculine. M. Ernout suggests, p. 81, that *-dī-* become *-i-*, hence *peior*. What then is he to do with *remedium* and *modius*? *acus aceris*, p. 90, is put down as dialectal on account of its vocalism, but may we not assume that to be due to the influence of *acer aceris*? In the discussion of *abdomen*, p. 89, which is of course made dialectal, the absence of any reference to Kluge’s comparison with O.H.G. *intuoma*, suggests too great a reliance on Walde.

M. Ernout has not made any material addition to our knowledge of the subject, but the material which he has with much labour collected, should be useful when our knowledge of the other Italic dialects is sufficiently complete to make a profitable investigation of the problem possible.

In his *Recherches sur l’emploi du passif latin* the same author traces the development of the passive verbal-forms in Latin. After a discussion of the forms, where, by the way, one misses a reference to Zimmer, *KZ.* xxx, p. 224 ff., and to Strachan, *Trans. of Phil. Soc.* 1891-94, 536 ff., there is given a great mass of examples illustrating the history of their usage. It may be noted that *fertur* is explained as **bherto-r*, and the imperat. forms in *-mino* as contaminations of the 2nd person plu. pass. and *-tō* imperatives. It is surprising that where the *-ndus* forms are described as existing in no other Idg. language, p. 15, there should be no reference to the Oscan *upsannam*, *sakraunas* and the Umbrian *pihaner*, *anferener*.

This work, reprinted from the *Memoirs* of the *Société de Linguistique*, is a valuable contribution to the *Historical Latin Grammar* of the future.

J. FRASER.

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CAECILIUS OF CALACTE.

Caecilii Calactini Fragmenta collegit Ernestus Ofenloch. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. xl, 242.

THIS new volume in the Teubner series of classical texts is a daring attempt at reconstruction. Caecilius is one of the most dismembered of ancient authors, and the present editor strives industriously to piece together his scattered remains. He collects (or infers) these fragments from such sources as the *De Sublimitate*, Athenaeus, Marcellinus, Plutarch (or pseudo-Plutarch), Photius,

Suidas, and various other lexicographers, rhetoricians, and scholiasts.

The attempt is well worth making. Caecilius was undoubtedly an interesting writer, and a man of character and energy. A Greek-speaking contemporary and friend of Dionysius of Halicarnassus at Rome, he had been born in Sicily, and was apparently (to judge from certain references in Plutarch and Suidas) a convert to Judaism. Himself probably of servile birth, he had written a history of the Servile Wars in Sicily. But it was as a literary critic that he made his real

mark. It is in him that a definite reference to the so-called canon of the ten Attic orators is first found. His originality is still better shown by the fact that he had the courage to compare Greek authors with Latin (and possibly with Jewish). Plutarch, no doubt, censures the temerity of the undertaking, seemingly on the ground that Greek writers seldom knew Latin well. We must bear in mind, says Plutarch (Demosth. c. 3), the proverb about *a fish out of water*, which 'the all-accomplished Caecilius overlooked when he had the hardihood to publish a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. However, it may well be that if the saying *know thyself* were always present to everybody's mind, it would not have been held to be a divine command.' Be this as it may, it was something to have started on the fruitful path of comparative criticism, and we should be only too glad to recover Caecilius' Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος, as well as his similar comparison between Demosthenes and Aeschines. An even better find would be his essay on the differences between the Attic and the Asiatic style (τίνι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀπτικὸς ἔηλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ), of which the title alone is preserved by Suidas. As we know from the *De Sublimitate*, Caecilius was an almost fanatical admirer of Lysias, one of the most Attic of the Attic writers; and his treatment of Asianism must have made lively reading.

Ofenloch's success has been as great as the nature of the conditions allowed. He has gathered together the 'disiecta membra' of

Caecilius with sedulous care, and has tried to construct from them an adequate skeleton, where the revival of a living author is beyond any editor's power. Sometimes the bones themselves cannot be identified with any certainty, as their collector scrupulously points out. Cautious though Ofenloch generally is, he seems to overestimate the amount of Caecilius to be found imbedded in the *De Sublimitate*. That treatise is, it is true, polemical; and the word φησὶν (which editors have been prone to change into φασὶν) may, now and then, introduce a quotation from Caecilius. But the writer is too individual to quote often, and he is too much influenced by the spirit of Plato to echo unconsciously the language of Caecilius, who was influenced no less strongly by Lysias.

In the list (pp. viii-x) of previous writings on the same subject, reference might have been made to F. Caccialanza's article, 'Cecilio da Calatte e l'Ellenismo a Roma nel secolo di Augusto,' as published in the *Rivista di Filologia* (xviii. 1-73). The fragments of Caecilius were edited over forty years ago at Basle by Theophilus Burckhardt (*Caecili Rhetoris Fragmenta*, Basileae, 1863); but this new edition was needed, and it has been well executed.

It may be added that Grenfell and Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vi. p. 113) reject decisively any notion that the newly-discovered Commentary on Thucydides ii. is from the hand of Caecilius.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

SHORT NOTICES

Diogenis Oenoandensis Fragmenta ordinavit et explicavit IOHANNES WILLIAM. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xlvi, 105.

THESE fragments, discovered in 1884 by Holleaux and Paris, were first published by Cousin in 1892. Further work was done upon them by Usener and by Heberdey and Kalinka in their edition of 1897. The

Teubner editor in his preface discusses at length the problem of the order and disposition of the fragments, in view of the size of the stones upon which they are inscribed, the nature of the subject-matter and other indications. Another section of the preface is devoted to an enquiry as to the authorship of the 'Epistula ad matrem' (*Frr.* 63-4), which Cousin and Usener ascribed to

Epicurus: from this ascription the editor dissents, arguing, mainly on linguistic grounds, that the document must be much later in date and may, very probably, come from the hand of Diogenes himself. The rest of the preface also deals with the vocabulary and style of Diogenes, and the 'vulgaris sermonis signa' which they betray. The expert in inscriptions will find much to interest him in the 'restored' text here printed, which has called for large exercise of imaginative ingenuity, since the originals in many cases are 'perquam depravatae'; while the reader who may frequently be puzzled to know the author's drift will find much helpful information (and conjecture), especially with regard to the philosophic sources, in the 'adnotationes' appended.

R. G. B.

Codices Blandinii.—These MSS. of Horace, which include the famous V (*Blandinius vetustissimus*), existed formerly at a certain abbey 'in monte Blandinio' but perished in August 1566 when the abbey was burnt by the Flemish iconoclasts. They had been previously inspected by J. Cruquius, who edited Horace by instalments beginning in 1565, and published a complete edition in 1578. Cruquius says (Ed. 1578, p. 647) that the MSS. were 'Roma Gandavum perlati,' but Cruquius was a professor in Bruges. Probably for that reason, and because one does not look for a 'mons' in Ghent, English editors of Horace (including myself) have for the last 40 years stated that 'mons Blandinius' is Blankenberghe, a watering-place which is not very far from Ghent indeed, but nearer to Bruges. This is an error which I am enabled to correct by the kindness of Prof. A. Geerebaert, of S. John's College, Louvain. He is a native of Ghent, and informs me that 'the Blanden-berg or Blandijnberg is a hill in the interior of the city which seems to rise some 20 or 30 metres above the level of the Scheldt, on the bank of which it stands.' I gather from Baedeker that this height is near the railway station and that some remains of the abbey are incorporated in a barrack.

J. Gow.

Homer in seinen Bildern und Vergleichen.

Von Dr. E. WITTICH. Stuttgart: J. F.

Steinkopf, 1908. Pp. 71.

IN this little book Dr. Wittich has made a rational grouping of Homer's similes, and tastefully translated the original into German hexameters. It is perhaps worth while to direct attention to the great merit of this side of the Homeric poems, and the author aptly quotes a sentence of Dr. Oskar Jäger: 'In Homer this department reveals an amount of feeling and creative imagination, an originality of handling which has not been surpassed down to our times by any poet of any nation.' Moreover, the collected similes are particularly valuable as evidence for Homeric or pre-Homeric life, because in them the poet is off his guard and gives us very welcome glimpses of an unknown world about which curiosity grows rather than decreases. The late Professor T. D. Seymour's book, *Life in the Homeric Age*, is indebted for a large proportion of its matter to the similes. Dr. Wittich's headings are, natural phenomena, including sea, storms, wind, mist, dew, and so on; the plant kingdom with various trees; the animal kingdom, from the lion down to the house-dog, from the eagle to the nightingale; while similes drawn from human life form the third section of the work. The result of a perusal of these pages is chiefly the surprise of the reader at the very wide ground covered by the similes. Dr. Wittich's book is a not unsympathetic piece of systematising, which may easily suggest fresh inferences about the Homeric poems.

S. E. WINBOLT.

Modern Greek-English Dictionary with a Cypriote Vocabulary. By A. KYRIAKIDES.

Second edition. 10" x 7". Athens: A. Constantinides. 1909. Pp. 16, 908. Cloth.

THE first edition of this work was published in 1892 at Nicosia, and has proved to be a useful book. The second, greatly enlarged, will prove useful, although the dictionary of Contopoulos is fuller. Both Contopoulos and Kyriakides give but sparingly of the spoken language, the little Greek-French

dictionary of Legrand being more useful for the traveller. The present volume omits a number of popular words that occur in Legrand, and Legrand himself is far from complete. On the other hand, Kyriakides quotes many proverbs and idiomatic expressions in his longer articles, which are omitted in both the others, and he gives the main vocabulary of the popular language. It is certainly a useful Greek-English dictionary of the modern language, and it may be recommended to the student.

The Cypriote vocabulary differs in some respects from that of Sakellarios; the other is much fuller, yet it omits a good many words that are found in Kyriakides. The vocalization differs in some words, but I have no first-hand knowledge of this dialect, and therefore I cannot offer any opinion as to which is correct, or whether each is correct for certain districts.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Days in Hellas. By MABEL MOORE. With numerous illustrations and coloured frontispiece. Heinemann. 6s. net.

THIS is a charming little book. How pleasant it is amongst the learned works submitted to the *Classical Review*, to find now and again one that is meant to amuse and not to instruct! The amusing books, if written by a competent person, do also instruct, and this does instruct as to the human side of the modern Greek; it also gives information about antiquities by the way, sometimes inaccurate, once or twice we regret to say by means of extracts from books of scholarship or antiquities. Never mind: we soon forget the instruction, and once more lose ourselves in the author's ready humour and sympathy. Where she ceases to play on the surface, and sounds a fuller note, she can say things both beautiful and worth remembering. We cordially recommend this book to our readers.

TRANSLATION

COPA.

*I heard a Voice within the Tavern cry,
'Awake, my Little ones, and fill the Cup
Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry.'*

COPA Surisca caput Graeca redimita mitella,
crispum sub crotalo docta mouere latus,
ebria famosa saltat lasciua taberna
ad cubitum raucos excutens calamos.
5 'quid iuuat aestiuo defessum puluere abesse,
quam potius bibulo decubuisse toro?
sunt topia et kelebes, cyathi, rosa, tibia,
chordae,
et trichia umbrosis frigida harundinibus.
en et, Maenalia quae garrit dulce sub antro,
10 rustica pastoris fistula more sonat.
est et uappa cado nuper defusa picato
et strepitans rauco murmure riuus aquae.

In her low tavern dancing, tipsy twirls
The Syrian hostess with the turban'd curls;
The castanets a-rattle on her arms,
With wanton art the lissome figure whirls.
5 'Why toil (she sings) and swelter on your way,
When soft divan and wine-cup bid you stay?
Flagons are here and roses, flute and lyre;
A bower of trellised rushes screens the day.
The rustic pipe from yon Arcadian cave
10 Merrily trolls its lilting pastoral stave;—
Our country wine's fresh-broached;—a rippling bass
Drones in the murmur of the rivulet's wave.

- sunt et * Corycio uiolae de flore corollae,
sertaque purpurea lutea mixta rosa,
15 et quae uirgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia uimineis attulit in calathis.
sunt et caseoli quos iuncea fiscina siccatur,
sunt autumnali cerea pruna die,
castaneaeque nuce et suaue rubentia
mala,
20 est hic munda Ceres, est Amor, est
Bromius.
sunt et mora cruenta, et lentis una race-
mis,
et pendet iunco caeruleus cucumis.
est tuguri custos armatus falce saligna,
sed non et uasto est inguine terribilis.
25 huc Calybita ueni, lassus iam sudat asellus.
parce illi, Vestae delictum est asinus.
nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta
cicadae,
nunc uepris in gelida sede lacerta latet.
si sapias, aestiuo recubans * te prole uitro,
30 seu uis crystalli ferre novos calices.
heia age pampinea fessus requiesce sub
umbra
et grauidum roseo nocte caput strophio,
* formosus tenerae decerpens ora puellae
a pereat cui sunt prisca supercilia!
35 quid cineri ingrato seruas bene olentia
serta?
anne coronato uis lapide * ossa tegi?
pone merum et talos. pereat qui crastina
curat.
mors aurem uellens "uiuite" ait
"uenio."

*The text is that of Robinson Ellis's *Appendix Vergiliana*, except where asterisks mark emendations of various editors adopted from his critical notes. Lines 19, 20 follow lines 21, 22 in Haupt's edition (Leipzig, 1873), and that order is adopted in the version.

- Corycian violets your locks shall bind,
And roses red with yellow roses twined;
15 Gift of the Naiad of the virgin stream,
Lilies in osier baskets here you'll find.
Here, too, is creamy junket drained of
whey
Upon its mat of reeds; here, if you'll stay,
Are blood-red mulberries, and waxen
plums,
Ripened by genial autumn's mellow ray.
21 Here are the pendent clusters of the vine,
Green cucumbers looped up with rushy
twine,
19 Smooth, glossy chestnuts, red-cheeked
apples sweet;—
Love, Ceres, Bromius grace our Tavern
sign.
Guarding our cot, the lusty God stands
near,
Armed but with willow sickle—have no
fear.
25 Turn in, good traveller; spare your
sweating ass,—
Poor, weary ass, to Vesta he is dear.
The shrill cicada's song bursts from the
glade,
The lizard lurks in his cool leafy shade.
Be wise, recline and drain a summer's
glass.
30 Look, here are goblets new of crystal made.
Come, 'neath the vine-leaf's shadow lay
you down,
Weave the red rose your heavy head to
crown;
Come, rifle Beauty's lips, e'er beauty's
past;—
Out on the old-world prude that dares to
frown!
35 Why save sweet blossoms for the un-
grateful Tomb?
Care you what garlands on your grave-
stone bloom?
Bring wine and dice! Avaunt, To-
morrow's fears!
Death plucks Youth's ear and whispers,
"Live, I come."

H. RACKHAM.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor, THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—We trust that we shall not seem ungrateful if we venture to offer a few comments on the review of *Limen* (C.R. June).

I. Prof. Postgate describes the book as containing 'grammar, reading lessons, questions upon them, and exercises with conversations.' Although the last two points of his description are in a sense correct, they are, we think, likely to give a wrong idea of the book; for, while we hold with Dr. Postgate that conversation in Latin upon suitable topics may be made a valuable part of teaching, we have laid down definitely in our Appendix that the plan of the conversations ought to be the spontaneous work of the teacher. This Appendix, which contains hints upon and examples of oral exercises, is for the use of teachers only; from the book itself we have deliberately excluded any conversations which the pupils who use it are expected to repeat, since we have observed the deadening effect of putting into the hands of a class questions and answers ready made. But we have added to the Appendix three Latin Dialogues such as a class can perform (and these can be obtained separately); while in the Reading Lessons in the book itself we have done our best to provide topics of sufficient interest to be the theme of questions and answers. The first three of them, while the pupil has learnt as yet no Cases but the Nominative, Accusative, and Vocative, are in the form of conversations, and here Dr. Postgate criticises as 'unnatural' the boy's exclamation, *O Iuppiter* (when his oar falls into the water). Our choice was between (1) using this phrase; (2) using *Iuppiter* alone, which would have been more lively but much more difficult for a beginner; and (3), as Dr. Postgate would prefer, using no exclamation at all. We submit in view of the colloquial colour of passages like Plaut. *Merc.* v. 2. 24, and the English school-boy's favourite appeal to this particular god, that we have chosen the least evil of the three.

II. The only important point on which Dr. Postgate would seem to differ from us is the difficult matter of the rule for questions in Oratio Obliqua. Dr. Postgate's words are: 'The statement that rhetorical questions, the answer to which is not known or clearly foreshadowed, are put into the Subjunctive, is insufficient. Such questions, if a first or second person is concerned, are normally put into the Infinitive.' (We venture to assume that in the last sentence the word 'second' is a clerical error for 'third.') Now this criticism scarcely represents our statement of the rule. On page 289 we define '*Rhetorical*' questions as being those 'To which the answer is known or clearly foreshadowed'; and these, we say, are regularly put into the Infinitive. In the next sentence we define *real questions* as 'those to which the answer is not immediately clear'; and these latter, we say, are treated like Dependent Questions, and put into the Subjunctive. To this last statement Dr. Postgate seems to demur, and he suggests that we

ought to have introduced the criterion of the Person who is the Subject in the question. We are glad that our account should be 'insufficient,' provided only that it is true so far as it goes, for we do not think that a First Latin Book is the place for a discussion of the complex and often inconsistent usage of Latin authors in this matter. The difficulty of the topic will be at once apparent to your readers if we remind them that Dr. Postgate's present statement is hardly consistent with his own description of the use [on page 192 of the *New Latin Primer* (Edition 1898)] where he gives four rules, of which the first is that 'Questions in the Subjunctive in Oratio Recta remain in the Subjunctive in Oratio Obliqua'; such questions, namely, as *quid faciam?* 'What am I to do?' which becomes, of course, *quid faceret*. This appears to us to be a Question to which the answer is not clearly known. It is a Question in the First Person, and yet, as we all know, and as Dr. Postgate himself quite correctly stated in his *Primer*, it is put into the Subjunctive. In these circumstances, we decided that the right course to adopt was to put the learner at once into possession of the real principle which underlies the complexity, and leave him to study the inconsistencies in its application by different authors at a later period. That principle is that if, and only if, the question in O. R. is equivalent to a statement it is regularly represented in O. O. by the construction proper to an oblique statement, *i.e.* by the Accusative and Infinitive. The general principle appeared to us to be worth grasping at the outset; the variations of usage ought not, we think, to be studied by learners till a later stage. But the serious misconception into which our critic has been led by supposing that we used the term 'rhetorical' as he has used it, namely, to include all questions of every kind that are asked in the course of a speech, has now determined us to discard the term 'rhetorical' altogether. It will disappear from our second edition, where we contrast *real questions* with *artificial questions* without insisting on the use of either term.

III. As to the English derivatives from Present and Supine-stems, are we not perhaps rather hardly treated? By the time that the Supine was introduced, every inch of our pages was urgently wanted for more important matters than the derivation of single English words. But we made room in three Exercises (pp. 95, 110, 112) for this distinction, feeling confident that when it had been clearly indicated every competent teacher would from that point onwards insist upon the difference in any derivation that he might ask or give. If the Supine could speak, we fancy it would be more inclined to thank us than to grumble. For similar reasons at a more advanced stage (p. 141) we have once given a list of English words whose meaning has been largely changed from that of their Latin originals, asking the learner to point out the nature of the changes. But we have not thought it necessary to make room for such examples at any later point.

IV. Finally, we are sorry that our policy on the insoluble question on the use of the Hyphen in printing paradigms, is not entirely such as Dr. Postgate approves. For the most part we have cut the knot by not using it at all; but in some places it appeared to us (as on p. 299) far more helpful to the learner to print, for instance, the Imperfect Subjunctive thus:—

amā-	} rem, etc.
monē-	
rege-	
audī-	
cape-	

than to print *am-ārem*, *mon-ērem* and so forth, which is the principle that Dr. Postgate recommends. His

particular example is chosen from the 5th Declension, and there we still venture to think that our division *diē-s* contrasted with *gradu-s* in the immediately preceding pages is of some help to the learner. But we have reserved the symbol for such cases.

May we conclude by cordially thanking Dr. Postgate for the praise he has given us, which we count a welcome reward for the hard work which the book involved?

Yours faithfully,

C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.

R. S. CONWAY.

London, { July 8th, 1909.
Manchester, }

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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1909

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE CONNECTION OF THE ÆGEAN CULTURE WITH SERVIA.

IN the current volume of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*¹ Dr. Vassits restates his views on the relationship of Servia to the Ægean in prehistoric times, and in doing so deals with several suggestions which we put forward in this *Review* last December. He gives an excellent summary of his important finds, and as the result of much careful observation, is now enabled to put forward a scheme for arranging the early Servian antiquities in chronological order. This we have no intention of criticising, nor do we dispute any of the archaeological facts that he has discovered, for we only wish to discuss briefly in this paper some of the comparisons he makes between the Servian finds and those from Thessaly and Crete. Most of the Servian finds he assigns to an age of metal, and apparently means by a 'Bronze Age' an age in which bronze was known, but not necessarily used for cutting instruments, the more usual meaning. So for convenience we will here adopt his use of the term. In the first place, it will be well to clear up a slight misunderstanding;² we have never called the Klicevac statuette neolithic, nor classed it with earlier figurines; we have only pointed out how it differs from the Thessalian, Trojan, and Mycenaean figurines.

Dr. Vassits concludes that the prehistoric settlements of Servia were formed under the 'continuous influence of a south-eastern civilisation,' by which is apparently meant the prehistoric civilisation of the Ægean.³ Throughout the arguments used to support this contention one feature is very noticeable—evidence is gathered indiscriminately from Troy, Thessaly, and the Ægean proper. These three regions, though all to the south-east of Servia geographically, are archaeologically distinct from one another. It is, indeed, very doubtful if Troy can be called Ægean in the true sense at all. Professor Doerpfeld has said,⁴ 'After all the correspondences, the civilisation that confronts us at Troy is different from the Mycenaean. To be sure, we recognised the influence of the latter in the Mycenaean vases (undoubtedly imported) which we find in the sixth stratum; but the native culture of the Trojan rulers is a different culture.' The architecture also differs from that of mainland sites. The origin of many elements of the Trojan culture is probably to be found in Asia Minor and not in the Ægean,⁵ and so parallels between Troy and Servia

¹ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 342.

² In his preface to Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*.

³ Cf. the finds at Yortan and Boz Eyuk, cf. *Class. Rev.* 1908, p. 236.

¹ Vol. xiv. pp. 319-342: cited below as *B.S.A.* xiv.
² *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 327; *Class. Rev.* 1908, pp. 237, 238.

so far from supporting Ægean influence go against it.

Parallels from Thessaly are hardly more conclusive. At present Thessaly and North Greece are still comparatively new ground, but excavations have been made at Dhimini, Sesklo, Phthiotic Thebes, Zerelia and Tzani in Thessaly, Lianokladhi in Malis, Orchomenos and Chaeronea in Boeotia, where kindred cultures have been found. Besides these, several trial-excavations have been made, and it is legitimate to draw certain conclusions from the evidence already before us. In the first place, early Thessalian culture is quite distinct and separate from the Ægean.¹ A few stray Ægean objects may occur in Thessaly, but they cannot alter the case, and the Late Minoan III. pottery from this region is only found either isolated or together with the latest of the local wares. The Minyan ware, which is somewhat earlier in date, was imported from Orchomenos and is the earliest sign of the potter's wheel in the north. The early hand-polished, painted wares which are succeeded by a period of degeneration and plain pottery, have no likeness to any southern fabric, and southern influence does not really occur till the very end of the Mycenaean age (Late Minoan III.). So a resemblance between Thessaly and Servia does not mean Ægean influence in Servia. Taken as a whole, Thessalian and Servian ceramic fabrics seem to be different; amongst the former painted wares are common and incised rare, among the latter the case seems to be the reverse. Dr. Vassits quotes some Servian ware with red matt paint, and suggests a Thessalian parallel.² But the Thessalian red on white ware is hand-polished, and quite different. He also mentions one bichrome fragment,³ which does not seem to be Thessalian, and is a slight proof of strong connection at best. Thessalian wares and other objects may occur in Servia and *vice versa*, but unless the quantity found is great there is no proof that one style influenced the other, especially when the differences are so great.

Dr. Vassits quotes with approval our suggestion that the Thessalian chronology needs revision,⁴ and points out that a type of unpainted vase, one of which has been found in Thessaly, occurs in Italy and Bulgaria in the iron age. Apparently he would wish to place the upper strata of Dhimini, to which the vase belongs, in the early iron age, and so equate bronze with bronze, and iron with iron. All the evidence, however, is the other way, and no one would dream of placing the introduction of iron into Thessaly before the third Late Minoan period, the *terminus ante quem* for the upper levels of Dhimini,⁵ for the evidence from Zerelia seems to show that even at that date Thessaly was still in an Eneolithic age.⁶

In his interesting account of the implements, statuettes, and pottery, Dr. Vassits lays great stress on the part played by metal prototypes from the south-east. Thus he holds that stag-horn harpoons and hooks are not characteristic of the stone, but of the bronze age, and are copied from metal hooks and harpoons from the south-east, but apparently such metal prototypes have not been found in Servia itself. The same seems to be the case as regards the pottery which he believes to be largely imitated from the shapes of metal vases. Now a large amount of pottery based on metal prototypes seems to imply a considerable amount of metal which, however, according to Dr. Vassits himself, is very rare.⁷ If the actual metal prototypes are lacking, how far is it legitimate to argue their existence from ceramic fabrics? Metal vases are decorated in three ways: (1) by incised patterns, (2) by raised patterns, (3) by designs beaten out from the inside. Of these, the first two methods are equally natural for pottery, and without a metal parallel cannot be taken as implying the existence of metal prototypes. The third method, however, if found in pottery is most probably derived from metal. Ware showing this technique has been found at Knossos, and from the same site there are fragments which exactly reproduce in clay the handles

¹ Tsountas, *Διμήνη καὶ Σέσκλο*, p. 385; cf. *Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anthropology*, 1908, pp. 120 ff.

² *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 335.

³ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 335, fig. 11.

⁴ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 332; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1908, p. 290.

⁵ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 362.

⁶ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 222.

⁷ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 340.

of the Vaphio cups. Here we have both the metal prototype and the ceramic imitation, but are there any such certain examples in Serbia? To judge by his paper on his excavations at Žuto Brdo,¹ Dr. Vassits considers any sharp bend in the profile of a vase to be a sign of metal, but this may just as well be derived from wicker or wooden prototypes.

The prehistoric collection of the National Museum at Belgrade now contains, thanks to Dr. Vassits' energy, over a thousand statuettes from different sites. All of these are, with two exceptions—a bird's head from Jablanica and the hindquarters of a quadruped from Vinca—of clay, and so there is no Servian parallel to the Cycladic marble statuettes.² The solid female figurines from the earlier group of sites are without exception steatopygous, which is not a characteristic of the Ægean, though it is of Thessaly.³ The Petsofá figurines, which Dr. Vassits often refers to, are all painted and for the most part male, while the Servian statuettes which he compares to them are incised and usually female. Throughout there seems to be a difference in the development and history of costume, for early Servian statuettes of both sexes wear a form of loin-cloth, while in the Ægean the typical female costume is a bell-shaped skirt. In the Klicevac figure, now no longer an isolated example, an apron is still found. On this point he refers to the parallel drawn by Prof. Myres between the Klicevac example and the Petsofá figurines.⁴ But that this is not enough to prove a continuous Ægean influence is shown by Dr. Vassits' further description, 'long garments enveloping the whole of the lower part of the body are worn only by figurines of the Klicevac type, and only the ornaments of the dress are indicated, not the dress itself, probably because it was thought sufficiently rendered by the shape of the body.' This is again in striking contrast to the narrow waists, heavy belts, and bell-shaped skirts of the Ægean that in no way follow the natural lines of the body. To support his contention that the Klicevac type

originated in Crete Dr. Vassits also quotes Dr. Evans.⁵ The comparison, however, is not convincing, for in the Knossian terra-cotta⁶ the arms are separated from the body, the waist is narrow, and the base cylindrical, not anthropomorphic. He rightly points out that the Klicevac type is not neolithic, though some of his reasons are open to question. In the cylindrical shape of the lower limbs, the flat, solid torso, and in the head he sees signs of a metal prototype, but he does not refer to any of these metal prototypes that he uses to connect Serbia and the Ægean, except, perhaps, the bronze statuette from the Troad,⁷ which he quotes as giving a hint of the way by which Ægean things reached Serbia. In this example the marked flounced skirt of the Ægean type is in direct contrast to the Klicevac figure.

There also seems to be some difficulty in Dr. Vassits' comparative chronology. Some of the Servian objects are, according to him, much later than the Cretan prototypes from which he alleges they were derived. For instance, the Klicevac type, which is the earliest statuette with the lower limbs fully draped, is dated by him as parallel with Troy VII.,⁸ and is thus later than the Knossian terra-cotta compared with it, which belongs to the last period of the second palace, 1400 B.C. The Petsofá figurines, which come early in the Middle Minoan period, are compared with the second group of the early Servian figures, which, according to Dr. Vassits, are of the age following Troy II.,⁹ but at Petsofá we have the fully developed skirt and bodice.¹⁰ How is it then that Serbia, which, according to Dr. Vassits, almost always depends on the Ægean for all new figurines and pottery, produced no statuette with the lower limbs fully draped before a 'Mycenean or Post-Mycenean age'?¹¹

We may then briefly summarise the points we have raised. A connection with Thessaly

⁵ *B.S.A.* viii. p. 98; *Starinar*, 1907, pp. 28 ff.

⁶ *B.S.A.* viii. fig. 56.

⁷ Furtwängler, *Ægina*, p. 371, fig. 296; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vi. figs. 349, 350.

⁸ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 326.

⁹ *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 323, 341.

¹⁰ Contrast *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 321, figs. 1-3 with *B.S.A.* ix. pls. 8, 9.

¹¹ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 326.

¹ *Starinar*, 1907, pp. 1 ff.

² *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 341.

³ Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 384.

⁴ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 383.

or Troy is no proof of Ægean influence. The alleged close relationship between Servia and the Ægean is not proved, because Servian fabrics are so different from the Cretan, no actual Cretan imports have yet been found in Servia, the Servian objects are much later in date. The argument of metal prototypes must remain in abeyance till they are found both in Servia and in the Ægean. The Thessalian culture, while certainly non-Ægean, may perhaps connect with Servia, but the pottery in shape and technique is on the whole so different as to preclude the dependence of one on the other. Some

figurines from Dhimini and Sesklo may show resemblances, but the differences are far greater; for instance, the Klicevac type is unknown in Thessaly, and also a type from Žuto Brdo.¹ Thus for these reasons and because, as far as we can tell, the ceramic fabrics of Crete, Troy, Thessaly, and Servia are so different from one another, we would submit that Dr. Vassits has failed to make out his case.

M. S. THOMPSON.

A. J. B. WACE.

¹ *Rev. Arch.* 1908, pp. 205 ff. figs. 1-4.

SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE*.

The Composition of Sophocles' Antigone. Translated from an article by Prof. A. B. DRACHMANN of the University of Copenhagen, in the 'Hermes' (Berlin, vol. 43, i. 1908).

AFTER repeated study of Sophocles' *Antigone*, a number of difficulties have occurred to me, which, as I believe, admit of a single simple explanation. I will first refer to the passages in their order.

Lines 280 ff. (Jebb's edition). After the watchman has announced to Creon what has happened to the body of Polyneices, Creon expresses his suspicion that the watchmen have been bribed, and that too by a party among the citizens hostile to himself (presumably the followers of Polyneices). It is not quite clear whether he means that the watchmen themselves did the deed, or only allowed it to be done. In either case there is no foundation for his suspicion. If the watchmen had been bribed, they, or those who bribed them, would certainly have done more than strew a little dust over the body; a single person could have easily done this unobserved, if the watchmen were not paying close attention.

Lines 332 ff. (1st Stasimon). The chorus praises the inventiveness (*δεινότης*) of man, and illustrates it by a series of examples. But this inventiveness may be used as well in the service of evil as of good. The chorus give expression to their horror of the criminal,

who abuses the most splendid faculties of man for the transgression of law. As it is a case of just such flagrant lawlessness that has been reported, the last words of the ode must have reference to it: this also agrees with the general attitude of the chorus. The introductory remarks about *δεινότης* are less to the point. What has happened argues no particular inventiveness. It is plain that the difficulty here is the same as in the previous passage. The action which has just been reported, is spoken of in a way which is unsuited to its character. Creon's suspicion might be explained on the ground that he is represented as of a suspicious disposition. But as regards the chorus this evasive explanation does not apply. For this reason the psychological explanation cannot be accepted in Creon's case either. The difficulty is fundamentally the same in the two cases, and demands a single explanation. The same may be said to apply more or less to the following passages.

Lines 384 ff. (The report of the watchman of Antigone's second visit to the body). Why Antigone should be represented as going a second time to the body of her brother has not yet, to my knowledge, been satisfactorily explained.¹ The object of her first visit was

¹ The question has naturally been frequently discussed; I should like to refer not only to the usual commentaries (I made use of Nauck, Ew. Bruhn, G. Wolff, and Jebb), but also to the small discussion

an ἀφοσίωσις; after strewing earth over the corpse she is no longer ἐναγής (*Schol. Ant.* 255; cp. *Plut. De Is. et Os.* p. 371; *Hor. c. 1.* xxviii. 23 ff.) and indeed she did more than this, she brought to him, at the same time, the necessary offerings (ἐφαγιστεύσας ἃ χροί 247).¹ This is natural enough in her case, because she does not chance upon an unburied corpse, but goes to it with the object of fulfilling the burial rites. She has therefore done her duty towards the dead man, and has at the same time escaped from danger at the hands of the living. Her second visit would have sufficient motive, if she wished to bring the regular offering to the dead. That did not fall due, as a matter of fact, until the third day after the burial: but this Sophocles could perhaps afford to disregard. But by reason of its very nature the offering to the dead belongs to the ceremony of burial. In the case of a mere ἀφοσίωσις with regard to an unburied corpse it is neither required nor (under ordinary circumstances) practicable. It is useless to urge that, without the second visit the whole tragedy would come to nothing; what was it then that compelled the poet to represent two visits at all?

Lines 488 ff. Creon accuses Ismene of having had a hand in the burial of Polyneices. He gives as the ground for his suspicion the fact that he had seen her shortly before in a state of intense excitement. The ground would be reasonable enough if there were some objective basis for his suspicion. But this is not the case. It is highly inconsistent with the whole nature of the ceremony that several people should share in its fulfilment.

Lines 615 ff. (Second Stasimon). After considering the old inherited guilt of the Labdacidae, the chorus laud the might and eternity of Zeus in contrast with the helplessness and uncertainty of human life. The

responsibility for sin and misfortune is attributed to Hope: hope can work good, but it entices many a man to destruction. It is difficult not to find in this passage a reference to the state of mind of Antigone; yet it is not suitable to her condition, which approaches much nearer to desperation than to hope. (The words have also been supposed to refer to Creon; to whom the emotion of hope is particularly alien.)

Lines 696 ff. Haemon gives the verdict of the people on Antigone's action in the following words:

ἦ τις τὸν αὐτῆς ἀπ' ἀδελφὸν ἐν φοναῖς
πεπτῶτ' ἄθαπτον μὴθ' ὑπ' ὠμηστῶν κυνῶν
εἴσ' ὀλέσθαι μὴθ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τινος.

This is a very inaccurate description of what Antigone has really done; her 'burial' of Polyneices could keep neither birds nor beasts from his body. Jebb translates: 'would not leave him unburied, to be devoured,' without a note. This is wrong, both as regards the aorist εἴσας and the construction of the infinitive; but it serves to show that Jebb felt the difficulty.

I wish to add one other remark which is not quite on the same plane with what I have said. It was observed long ago, that the place where Antigone is buried reminds one of a Mycenaean domed-tomb (*vide* Ew. Bruhn, *Einkl.* pp. 32 ff.; Jebb, *sub v.* 1217); it has moreover been proved (*e.g.* by Bruhn), that Sophocles could have had knowledge of such buildings. In spite of this it is remarkable that Creon should have had such a place ready at hand, with which to punish Antigone, and that he should intend to use it for this purpose.

As regards the sources from which Sophocles drew the matter for his *Antigone*, the opinion seems to have been generally adopted recently that the plot of his tragedy is a free invention (*e.g.* Corssen, *Die Antigone des Sophokles*, p. 35). On the other hand, it has for a long time been recognized that the tradition in Apollodorus (iii. 78) approaches very near to the Sophoclean version. The passage reads: Κρέων δὲ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων νεκροῖς ἔρριψεν ἀτάφους, καὶ κηρύξας μηδένα θάπτειν φύλακας κατέστησεν. Ἀντιγόνη

between Nike and Gringmuth, in *Neue Jahrb.* 1894, pp. 260, 602 and 819. Jebb acknowledges frankly that he cannot solve the problem; Nike saw that the second visit of Antigone has no apparent motive. Others suggest the frightening away of wild beasts, and other such explanations.

¹ For sacrifice at burial see Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 231. Sophocles had to take care that the ceremony performed by Antigone should bear the closest possible resemblance to a regular burial.

δε, μία τῶν Οἰδίποδος θυγατέρων, κρύφα τὸ Πολυνείκους σῶμα κλέψας ἔθαψε, καὶ φωραθείσα ὑπὸ Κρέοντος αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ ζῶσα ἐνεκρύβθη. The reading in the last clause was formerly αὐτὴν τῷ τάφῳ ζῶσαν ἐνεκρύψατο, following the inferior MSS. This made it very difficult to judge of the passage. Bruhn, who prints the passage with the correct text (*Einl.* p. 7), remarks with reason that both the fact that the burial is really accomplished, and also the exact correspondence between the deed and the punishment of Antigone, argue the superiority in age of that form of the tradition found in Apollodorus. In spite of this he expresses a doubt as to whether it should be 'taken seriously.'

If the above remarks are correct we shall certainly have to take the passage of Apollodorus very seriously indeed. It is patently obvious, that all the difficulties which I have exposed in the first part of the *Antigone*, are solved at one stroke, if we substitute the story of Apollodorus for that of Sophocles. If the body has really been buried, it is easy to believe that Creon would suspect the watchmen; for the body must have been carried away before their very eyes. One can understand why the chorus should speak of human *δευότης* after the report of the watchman; why Creon should take it for granted that Antigone must have had help, and why his suspicion should turn immediately to Ismene; why the chorus, after the discovery, should speak of hope, which brings men to ruin (for the deed very nearly escaped detection); why Haemon should speak as if Polyneices were protected against dogs and birds. Lastly, the second visit to the body is also explained. If Polyneices was really buried, then the duty of Antigone did not end with the entombment; she still had to bring the *τρίτα* and the *ἔνατα*, before she could claim to have accomplished τὰ νομιζόμενα, and in doing this she was naturally exposed to the greatest danger of discovery.¹ Finally, I would call attention to the manner of Antigone's death. It is only natural that the family burial-place of the Labdacidae should have been a Mycenaean

domed-tomb. (As early as 1839 in the *Rhein. Mus.* vi. p. 264, Mure identifies, without further comment, the underground chamber of Antigone with the grave of the Labdacidae.) It is equally fitting that she should be buried there alive.

From these circumstances we may conclude immediately, that the form of the legend which we find in Apollodorus must have been well known to Sophocles. I will not trace out the consequences of this fact in the Theban Epics, or in the end of Aeschylus' *Septem*. I will return at once to the drama of Sophocles. The inconsistencies that are found in the *Antigone* are proof positive that Sophocles knew of the Apollodorus version. But they are more than this. They are only to be explained on the hypothesis that he also made use of it. At any rate, if similar circumstances occurred in Homer, they would most undoubtedly be attributed to the working over and gradual suppression of an original version.

This is the conclusion which I wish to draw also in this case; with the difference that I suppose a change made by the poet himself in course of composition. This seems to me absolutely essential, because the whole conclusion of the tragedy, from the Teiresias scene onwards, rests on the fundamental supposition that Polyneices still lies unburied there, and shows no trace of having been recast. There is moreover one passage which gives a conclusive proof that the older form of the legend was once followed in the *Antigone*. I passed it over above in order to be able to consider it fully at this point.

I quote from the first report of the watchman, lines 245-258:

τὸν νεκρόν τις ἀρτίως
θάψας βέβηκε καπνὶ χρωτὶ διψίαν
κόνιν παλύνας κάφαγιστεύσας ἃ χρή.
ΚΡ. τί φής; τίς ἀνδρῶν ἦν ὁ τολμήσας τάδε;
ΦΥ. οὐκ οἶδ'. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὔτε του γενηδὸς ἦν
πληγῆμ', οὐ δικέλλης ἐκβολή· στύφλος
δὲ γῆ
καὶ χέρσος, ἀρρῶς οὐδ' ἐπημαξευμένη
τροχοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἄσημος οὐργάτης τις ἦν.
ὅπως δ' ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῖν ἡμεροσκοπὸς
δείκνυσιν, πᾶσι θαῦμα δυσχερὲς παρῆν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡφάνιστο, τυμβήρης μὲν οὗ,
λεπτή δ', ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς, ἐπῆν κόνις.

¹ Apollodorus does not say *how* Antigone was discovered; but he implies that it was *not* at the burial itself.

σημεία δ' οὔτε θηρὸς οὔτε του κυνῶν
ἐλθόντος, οὐ σπᾶσαντος ἐξεφαίνετο.

That this is nonsense hardly needs saying; the fact is admitted to a certain extent even by those who offer an explanation; to a certain extent it is apparent from the attempts at explanation themselves. Neither pick-axe nor mattock nor waggon were in any way to be expected from the course of events that preceded. And the remark that no trace of dogs or beasts was to be seen is wholly unsuited to the context. But everything becomes plain and simple, as soon as we perceive that the report of the watchman culminates in the sentence: the body had disappeared and left no trace behind it. No trace, because it had neither been buried there on the spot, nor fetched away on a waggon, nor carried off by wild beasts.

There is no place, as far as I know, where the alteration of the plot is more apparent. Yet it is instructive to test the scene in detail with a view to the suggestions here made. With the exception of the four verses 246 f. and 255 f. it reads as if it assumed the disappearance of the body, and the scene decidedly gains in point if it is read on this understanding. The eagerness with which the watchmen accuse one another (v. 262 ff.) is remarkable if the deed was one that might have been done by any passer by. The necessity of reporting what has happened (268 ff.) to Creon is not obvious; it would surely have been sufficient to remove the traces of the symbolical burial. The case is very different if the body had disappeared altogether.

The conjecture of the chorus, that the deed was *θείλατος* (278), is decidedly more to the point if the body has disappeared without leaving any trace, and not merely been covered with dust.

Creon repeatedly supposes a number of men who committed the crime. In 306, it is true, we read τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου. But in 302 it is ὅσοι δὲ μισθαροῦντες ἤνυσαν τάδε, and in 324 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ φανείτε μοι τοὺς δρῶντας. It has already been remarked that the whole attitude of Creon is more natural if the body has disappeared altogether before the very eyes of the watchmen.

It will be necessary to subject the whole

first part of the play, down to the Teiresias scene, to a careful analysis, with these facts in view. This is not the place for such a work; I will only remark here that this whole part, with the exception of a few lines in the first report of the watchman, the whole of his second report, and lines 773 f., may be read without inconsistency and with decided advantage, if we presuppose the tradition of Apollodorus. I will only refer, in passing, to the whole first scene, and to passages such as verses 467 and 503 f., 867, 891-904. In my opinion the facts as they stand at present make it quite plain that a radical alteration has been made only in one place, namely in the second watchman's scene. The second report of the watchman had, in the nature of the case, simply to be cancelled in its original form, and replaced by an entirely new speech. We need not therefore wonder at the fact, that it shows no signs of a different version. On the other hand the whole position, as well as particular passages (particularly v. 696 ff.), make it impossible to suppose, as we otherwise might, that Sophocles had already changed his plan before the second watchman's scene.

I would seek in two directions his reasons for altering the tradition. First, it was obviously much easier to bring about a change in Creon's attitude, and make the scene with Teiresias effective, if the corpse of Polyneices still lay there unburied. Secondly,—and this is the point on which I would lay most stress—Antigone must, according to the tradition, have accomplished her task alone. That this was the case is not only evident from Apollodorus; it is also expressly emphasized in the description of Philostratus (*Imag.* ii. 29); and in *Pausanias* ix. 25, ii. it is taken for granted where the σῶμα Ἀντιγόνης is dealt with.¹ If we may take it that the account of Apollodorus is to be traced back to a Theban Epic—and I cannot see how this conclusion can be avoided—such a trait cannot appear surprising. But such an undertaking on the part of a woman could

¹ In Pausanias and Philostratus we are given to understand that Polyneices was *burned* (on the same pyre as Eteocles). In Sophocles there is no reference to the burning of Eteocles (*e.g. Ant.* 24 f. 27 f. 196, 203 f. 900 ff.). That is probably part of the older tradition which is found in Apollodorus.

hardly have seemed either probable or fitting to the Attic public of the fifth century. The simplest way of getting out of the difficulty, by giving Antigone an assistant, was not possible for Sophocles, because the action would have been complicated, and the glorious theme, a woman, who stands alone, and alone defies the power of the whole state, would have been lost. So he may have thought it permissible to substitute a symbolical for an actual burial, and yet leave unaltered the general situation and his attitude towards the traditional material.

As far as ritual was concerned there could obviously be no objection to such an alteration. Sophocles has, throughout the piece, treated the symbolic burial of Antigone as equivalent to the actual deed, and has described it as such. No one, as far as we know, in all antiquity ever took objection to this. From the dramatic point of view the case is a little different. I take it that nobody would dispute the fact that, for our modern taste, the piece would gain considerably in force, if the burial were actually completed, while, at the same time, Antigone would be raised above the common level of every-day women by the physical effort which this would imply. But this modern view hardly affects the question. It appears, however, that even in antiquity something similar was felt. It is generally supposed that Sophocles' *Antigone* was followed by at least two other interpretations of the same subject; first Euripides' *Antigone*, which must be later than that of Sophocles, if only because it criticizes it; secondly an anonymous piece, which may be reconstructed from Hyginus, *Fab.* 72, and the tradition of vases and sarcophagi, and is placed in the time after Euripides. However much truth there may be in this supposition, this much at any rate seems established, that in the versions that followed that of Sophocles the corpse was always actually buried by Antigone, with the help of another. In Hyginus on the vases and the sarcophagus-relief (Robert, ii. 60) it was Argeia who helped her, the wife of the dead man. The summary of Euripides' play (in the argument of Aristophanes to the *Antigone*) is defective; but the form of expression (φωραθείσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἴμονος δίδεται πρὸς

γάμον κοινωνίαν) points to a similar account. Euripides was a keen critic of the dramatic art of his predecessors, and it is likely enough, that the weakness of the Sophoclean arrangement did not escape his notice. Incidentally the whole position is a fresh proof that in Apollodorus we have before us the original tradition.

Lastly we must touch upon the question whether the suggestions here made have any effect upon the problem of the *Antigone* generally. At first sight very little; the main difficulties for us remain the same, for we still have the unsympathetic characterization of Antigone and the unfavourable verdict of her methods. Yet these difficulties appear in a slightly different light if we take into consideration the original position. Her intractability is there more flagrant, her whole manner passes far beyond the bounds of woman's nature, as Sophocles was wont to picture it. We can understand that he should have been able to mould, out of his material, a character like hers, and that he allowed it to stand, when he had confined his heroine to a certain extent within the bounds of the Attic ideal of womanhood. With Creon it is the other way about. His action appears in the play as we have it to be thoroughly tyrannical and brutal, even apart from the refusal of burial to Polyneices. (Such a step has, in the ancient epics, nothing objectionable about it; what Creon did was, according to Homeric custom, both natural and customary.) The case is very different if Antigone is guilty of only a formal disobedience. When Antigone has done, precisely and in every respect, what he forbade, there is no possible room for retreat; he must punish relentlessly, if he is not to appear in a ridiculous light, as the king, the representative of the highest power of the state, defeated by a woman. This refrain, recurring constantly in his speeches, is only intelligible in the light of the old form of the legend. So in that arrangement of the piece which I contend was the original one, light and shade are far more evenly distributed, and the treatment and expressions of the characters have a much firmer and more natural basis.

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THE DEFENCE OF ORESTES.

IN the course of an interesting argument (*Class. Rev.* xxi. 163) to show that the proper sanctuary and proper place of trial for Orestes was the court known in historical times as τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, Prof. Ridgeway assumed that the killing of Clytemnestra, as represented and referred to by Aeschylus, might be called a case of ἀκούσιος φόνος. The court in question, we know, dealt with this kind of killing, and for this reason, as well as for others, Prof. Ridgeway makes the place where it lay, not the Acropolis, the scene of the larger part of the *Eumenides*. The description of the murder as ἀκούσιος has been accepted by Dr. Verrall in his edition of the play. There are, however, two or three things that may make us hesitate about it.

First, have we really proof that in reference to this court ἀκούσιος φόμος ever meant anything but accidental, unintentional killing? Undoubtedly this is the natural and ordinary sense of the expression. But the death of Clytemnestra was certainly not the result of accident.

Prof. Ridgeway means by ἀκούσιος that Apollo compelled Orestes to kill his mother. This, he says, is the plea by which Orestes defends himself, while Apollo defends him further by the plea of justifiable homicide, because his mother deserved it. It is true that some of the responsibility is put upon Apollo by Orestes, by the Furies, and by Apollo himself; but is it true that the man is represented as acting under real *compulsion* from the god? Certainly the leader of the Furies declares in line 199 that Apollo is not merely μεταίτιος but παναίτιος. Orestes calls him 465 κοινῇ ἐπαίτιος, and Apollo owns 579 αἰτίαν ἔχω. Certainly he bade Orestes kill his mother: 203 (Apollo) ἔχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πρᾶξαι, 595 (Orestes) ἐξηγείτό μοι μητροκτονεῖν; and denounced pains and penalties on Orestes, if he did not kill her, 466 ἄλγη προφωνῶν ἀντίκεντρα καρδίᾳ (alluded to by Athena, who knows a little too much in 426 ἄλλης ἀνάγκης οὕτινος (or ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἢ τίνος) τρέων κότον; where ἀνάγκαις must in fairness be

noticed) and the passage of some length *Cho.* 270 foll.; cf. 1032 there. But does all this amount to compulsion? We do not need, perhaps we ought not, to take Aristotle's point, that things done under stress of threats or fear of various evils to follow are not ἀκούσια, because after all the agent does them of his own free will under the circumstances. Waiving that point, can it fairly be said, and is it ever said in Aeschylus, that Orestes was compelled to act as he did, that he had no alternative? It is not so put in any words that I recall. Neither he nor any one for him pleads explicitly that he could not help himself. ἄκων, ἀκούσιος are not used, though on Dr. Ridgeway's theory Aeschylus would surely have made a point of using the word at least once to connect his story with the Palladian court. ἀνάγκη and similar words are not used, for ἀνάγκαις above mentioned in 426 is hardly applied plainly and with full knowledge of the circumstances: it is in fact interrogative. No expression at all, I think, is used strong enough to convey the idea of compulsion. Apollo does, on the contrary, use the much weaker, though vague, word πείθειν in 84 κτανεῖν σ' ἐπεισα μητρῶον δέμας, and so the leader of the Furies 593, πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπέισθης καὶ τίνος βουλευμασί; and, while I cannot find Orestes pleading that he acted under compulsion, he does distinctly in 600-613 (cf. *Cho.* 988, 1027) plead justification, σὲν δίκη κατέκτανον, οὐκ ἄνευ δίκης, πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν, and so on.

Finally, if we admitted compulsion, is even that enough to make the killing ἀκούσιος? Not unless Orestes was of himself quite unwilling to do it. What a man is obliged to do is not therefore ἀκούσιον, unless he decidedly objects to doing it, and would not do it except for the pressure or compulsion brought to bear on him. Where is the evidence that this could be said of Orestes? Reluctance of a kind he may have felt. Some scruples, heart-searchings, compunction, we may ascribe to him, though there is little enough of them in the *Choephorae*, and not a syllable in the *Eumenides*. Πηλᾶδη,

τί δράσω; μητέρ' αἰδεσθῶ κτανεῖν; is his only and momentary word of hesitation. But we should quite misread him if we fancied that a strong repugnance to the act was only overcome by the terror of Apollo's threats. Bidden or unbidden, the son would have avenged his father's death.

If these arguments are sound, they go to show that the defence of Orestes took the line associated in later times with the Delphinium, where justification was pleaded, not with the Palladium.

H. RICHARDS.

PLATO, *PHAEDO* 66 B.

PROBABLY no passage in Plato has been explained in so many ways. The last clause (τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἀληθές) carries us back to 65 E. The sentence beginning with ἐκ πάντων τούτων is merely a re-statement of the arguments deduced and conclusions reached in 65 B–66 A inclusive, and must be taken closely with these to be understood. Wohlrab, Archer-Hind, Jowett, Bonitz, Ast, Heindorf, Stalbaum, Schmidt, Schneider, and others have, apparently, failed to do this; and inasmuch as the clauses following κινδυνεύει happen to contain so many words (ἀτραπός, ἐκφέρειν, λόγον, σκέψει), as well as constructions (ὅτι . . . ὅτι, μετὰ τοῦ λόγου, σκέψει ὅτι) which admit of various explanations, these scholars have mistaken Plato's meaning.

Commentators on Sophocles quote our passage to illustrate the use of ἐκφέρειν in *Ajax* 7. Platonic scholars likewise cite the Sophoclean verse. But the verb is used in different senses by the poet and by the philosopher, and unless this fact is recognized, the reader, ἀμαρτὼν τῆς ὁδοῦ, is liable to be led into a maze of difficulties, to extricate himself from which he will be apt to wrangle in tickle points of niceness and entangle himself still more in over-wiseness. If the Greek can be understood in so many ways, it does not deserve to be understood in any—if there is not something in the context to indicate to us what is the definite thought which Plato desired to express, something which will brush aside at once all these devious explanations, we may as well give up the passage as hopelessly corrupt.

'We assert,' declares Socrates in 66 B, 'that this (οὐ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν) is τὸ ἀληθές (an echo of ἀλήθειαν in 65 B), which we shall never get possession of (cf. κτήσιν, 65 A)

so long as the soul is not free to make the search unimpeded, so long as it is mixed with such an evil as the body.' But the question propounded in 65 A is: πότερον ἐμπόδιον τὸ σῶμα ἢ οὐ, εἰάν τις αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ζητήσει κοινωνὸν συμπαραλαμβάνη; The answer is found in 66 B. The body is an obstacle (if we take it with us in our quest of truth¹), for it leads us astray ὥσπερ ἀτραπός, so that we go the longer way, τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῶ μακροτέραν ἐκτραπόμενοι (Hdt. 1. 104), or the wrong way, until finally, recognizing our mistake, we exclaim: 'Nous avons fait fausse route.' The ἀτραπός leads off (ἐκφέρει) the main road, not on towards the goal; ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἀπέσχισται ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, as Herodotus says; or the road, like a river, σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς (2. 17), καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τράπεται, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει, while ἡ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν would lead us to the truth. Borne out of our course, as Io was (ἐξω φέρομαι *Prom.* 883), we grope in the dark; we are unable to see the οἶμος. We cannot follow the road, because our reason is beclouded (εἰάν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν)—εἰκομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτραπόμεθα (Hdt. 2. 80).² The verb ἐκφέρειν may mean *ad exitum* (ψ 376 ff.) as well as a *recta via ducere*; but the context shows that the preposition is used in the

¹ Note the parallel words and phrases in question and answer: ἐμπόδιον <ἐκφέρειν, τὸ σῶμα> <ἀτραπός, τις> <ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸ κοινωνὸν συμπαραλαμβάνη> <τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν, ἐν τῇ ζητήσει> <ἐν τῇ σκέψει.

² The ἀτραπός is not θάνατος, as Wohlrab maintains. The soul cannot grasp truth μετὰ τοῦ σώματος (65 B and D), for the latter drags it off on a by-path (μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκέψει), whereas it should be left by itself, to continue its march toward pure being. Socrates is not thinking of death (in 66 B), but of the philosopher's 'death in life' (ὁ ἐγγύς τι τείνειν τοῦ τεθνάναι ἐπιχειρῶν). This is proved by his frequent use of ὅτι μάλιστα in both sections.

local sense of ἔξω or ἐκτός (ἐκφέρεισθαι = ἀποκλίνειν, *declinare*); and the word ἀτραπός suggests deviation: with ἐκφέρειν it is equivalent to ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι (Arrian, *An.* 7. 21. 4). So the substantive ἐκτροπή in *Polit.* 267 A, Polyb. 9. 43. 5. Examples of compounds with similar connotation might be multiplied: ἔκκλισις, *deflection* (Plut. 2. 929), ἔκνευσις τῆς ὁδοῦ, *deviation* (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 113, commenting on ἐκτροπῆς), ἐκδρομή, *digression* (Arist. 1. 92). Cf. *Crat.* 414 B ἐκτός δρόμου φερόμενον, Aesch. *Cho.* 1022 δρόμον ἑξωτέρω φέρουσι γὰρ . . . φρένες δύσαρκτοι. When Orestes' mind becomes disordered he cannot steer a straight course; he veers off (ἐκφέρεται). The simple preposition (in composition), like the German *aus*, has two uses: (1) *straight on* (*gerade aus*), and (2) *to one side* (ἐκφέρειν = *viae flectere*). In the *Gorgias*, Plato represents the judges in the lower world as sitting ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὴν ὁδὴν, ἣ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἣ δ' εἰς Τάρταρον. So here the path takes us out of the main road, over rough ground, or to more inaccessible places. Cf. Arrian *An.* 3. 21. 4 ἐκτραπέντας δὲ ἕξω τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἰέναι Plato *Epist.* 7. 330 D ὁρθῇ πορευομένης ὁδῷ τῆς πολιτείας, *Polit.* 258 C τὴν οὖν πολιτικὴν ἀτραπὸν πῇ τις ἀνευρήσει . . . καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκτροπαῖς, Plut. (Stob. *Mein.* iv. p. 242) καὶ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀληθείας ἀποπλανθῆναι, Schol. B on ψ 392 χωρὶς καὶ ἑξωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, *Rep.* 404 A ἐὰν σμικρὰ ἐκβῶσι τῆς τεταγμένης διαίτης.

The senses are not to be trusted. But if the soul attempts to investigate something μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, it is diverted, that is deceived (τότε ἑξαπατᾶται, *loc. cit.*). Cf. *Lysis* 215 C πῇ παρακρουόμεθα; ἀρά γε ὅλῳ τινὶ ἑξαπατώμεθα. Even ἐν τῇ σκέψει has been such a potent source of trouble that scholars do not seem to have observed that it is merely a continuation of ἐν τῇ ζητήσῃ, ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι, ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι, and, consequently, does not refer to the philosophers' consideration of the proper method to be adopted in their investigations, but to the *mind's* quest, or consideration of truth. Jowett renders: "Have we not found," they will say, "a path of thought which seems to bring us and our argument

to the conclusion that while we are in the body, and while the soul is infected with the evils of the body our desire will not be satisfied?" Surely ἀτραπός ἐκφέρει, ἐν τῇ σκέψει ὅτι and μετὰ τοῦ λόγου are all here misunderstood.

Ample preparation for the final declaration ὥσπερ ἀτραπός κτέ has been made by the preceding words (σὺμπαραλαμβάνη, παραλνπῇ, φεύγει, ἀπαλλαγείς, ταραττοντος, οὐκ ἔωντος); and while a misapprehension of the meaning has been clearly shown to be possible, such a distortion of the sense would probably not have been permitted by the ear so readily as it has been by the eye. Read with the proper intonation the sentence becomes as transparent as one could wish: 'external influences (ἀκοή, ὄψις, ἀλγηδὼν, ἡδονή) distract us and mar our results—they deflect us from the "bonne route," which we would not abandon, if we made our search εἰλικρινεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ.' Cf. 64 E. Eyes and ears are poor witnesses (Heracl. *Fr.* 4). If truth were smoke, ῥίνες ἂν διαγνοῖεν (37). But, as it is, οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδὸν (71); and since we are turned from the right road by outside influences (ἄλλην αἴσθησιν ἐφέλκων μετὰ τοῦ λογισμοῦ—observe the variant μετὰ τοῦ λόγου below) and do not constrain ourselves to get as far as possible from eyes and ears, and the whole body (66 A)—μυρίας γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσχολίας παρέχει τὸ σῶμα (66 B)—we shall never acquire what we desire. Cf. 66 C, where the philosopher returns to the thought in 65 A. Diseases and appetites and passions and phantoms of all kinds thwart our efforts and carry us away from τὸ ὄν. Cf. Parmenides 1–4: ταί με φέρουσιν . . . ἐπεὶ μὲν ὁδὸν βῆσαν . . . ἢ κατὰ πάντ' αὐτὴν φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα . . . τῇ φερόμεν, 45 ff. ἀφ' ὁδοῦ ταύτης διζήσιος . . . ἀπὸ τῆς, ἣν δὴ βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδὲν πλάζονται, Hdt. 3. 76 ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ.

It remains to explain more fully the difficult expression μετὰ τοῦ λόγου. Plato merely reverses the previous statement (65 A and B) and couches his thought in the following language: κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις τὸ σῶμα ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκέψει. Above, the physical senses were spoken of as being dragged in

with the soul; here the body drags us—*cum ratione*—out, that is, away from the road. In 65 c the conception is ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, in 66 b τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.

In *Lysis* 213 E Socrates says: ταύτη μὲν μηκέτι ἴωμεν· χαλεπή τις μοι φαίνεται ὥσπερ ὁδὸς ἡ σκέψις· ἢ δὲ ἐτράπημεν δοκεῖ μοι ἵεναι. In the *Phaedo* we have turned off from the best road ἐν τῇ σκεπεί, whereas in this passage we are represented as having made the discovery that we must go back and follow the road from which we turned into the ('reprendre la bonne route'), or, as the orators say, when they desire to return to the main argument after a digression, ἐνθεν ἐξέβην (= ἐνθεν ἐξέφερε με ἡ ἀτραπός). Cf. also Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5. 1 ἐπ'ἀνείμι ἐνθεν ἐξέβην, Hdt. 7. 239 ἀνείμι δὲ ἐκέισε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι πρότερον ἐξέλιπε, 4. 82 ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥια λέξων λόγον. In the *Lysis* ὁδὸς and σκέψις are convertible terms; in the *Phaedo* passage the ἀτραπός is not ἡ σκέψις, but τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκεπεί. From the main road lead many paths, any of which we are in danger of entering by mistake: πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ βαίνοντες (Aesch. *Cho.* 72), πολλὰς ὁδοὺς τραπόμενοι (Thuc. 5. 10. 10). The body will knock us out of the road (ἐξέπληξ' ὁδοῦ, Eur. *Ion* 635). The clause ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν means ἕως ἂν τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀπαλλαγώμεν ὅτι μάλιστα (not, as many believe, ἕως ἂν ἔχωμεν τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τοῦ λόγου). That his sense may not remain obscure Plato purposely appends the clause συμπεφυρμένη ἢ ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχῆ. The soul itself would urge us to follow the straight road, ὁρθὴν ὁδὸν ἵεναι (Ar. *Av.* 1) and not περιέρχεσθαι ἀπέραντον ὁδὸν (*Theaet.* 147 c: cf. 200 c), wander aimlessly around (Ar. *Av.* 9), where there is not even a path (22), unless, perchance, μύρμηκος ἀτραπός (*Thesm.* 100). Cf. Pausan. 1. 44. 2 κατιούσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας . . . ἐκτραπέντα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, Clem. Alex. iv. p. 583 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπλήν σιμον εἰς Αἰδὸν φέρειν, ὁδοὶ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀπάγονσαι ἁμαρτίαι.

Some may prefer to take the second ὅτι clause as causal. I regard both conjunctions as introductory to object clauses depending on λέγειν, an interpretation which seems to be supported by τοιαῦτα ἅττα. Plato's

meaning may be shown by the following punctuation: ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα ἅττα λέγειν ὅτι 'κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ . . .', ὅτι 'ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν κτέ.'

If the objection be raised that Plato would not have said ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις of the body without giving us some hint that the subject of ἐκφέρειν is σῶμα, my answer is that the whole discussion from 64 E on has been περὶ τοῦ σώματος, that ἐκ πάντων τούτων in 66 b refers particularly to the foregoing considerations respecting the body and its unavoidable hindrances to clear thinking, that the subject of the sentences in 65 b–66 a is naturally carried over as the logical subject of the sentence in 66 b, and, finally, that when Socrates appends a second ὅτι clause as one of the τοιαῦτα ἅττα, he purposely adds ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν (to make his meaning clear) and reinforces this with συμπεφυρμένη . . . ἢ ψυχῆ μετὰ τοιούτου κακοῦ (namely, τὸ σῶμα, which deflects us). To change the figure, the ἐκφορά is away from the road along which we are trying to drive our horses (Xen. *De Re Equest.* 3. 5); our charioteer is so unskilful that our steeds endeavour to run away: ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν (*ib.*), βιά φέρουσιν (Eur. *Hēr.* 1224). Cf. *Phaedr.* 254 A. The path leads off at an ἐκτροπῇ, where ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐκφέρει and ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτρέπεται, as, e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 29 ἐπὶ στενῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, Arrian *An.* 1. 16. 2 ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος, Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 22 ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρώμων φέρουσαν ἁμαξιτόν, Plato, *Rep.* 543 c πόνθεν δεῦρο ἐξετραπόμεθα, ἵνα πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἴωμεν ('il faut reprendre la bonne route'), Ar. *Plut.* 837 ἐξετρέποντο, Lucian, *Hist. Vera* 107 ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐβάδιζον, Soph. *O.T.* 804 ff. τὸν ἐκτρέποντα. In the last passage we read also ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἡλανέτην. Cf. Xen. *Eq. Mag.* 1. 18 ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντας. If ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἐλαύνειν is good Greek, so is ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἐκφέρειν. Cf. *Phaedo*, 77 D ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος. When the soul is making a journey (ὁδὸν ποιούμενον, Hdt. 5. 52), it takes another route (τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τράπονται, Hdt. 5. 15), misguided by the body, for τὸ σῶμα ὥσπερ ἀτραπὸς ἐξω τῆς ἰθείας φέρει, and forces the mind to go another road, rough and difficult (ἥει ἄλλην

NOT. . . διελθὼν δὲ τὴν τραχείαν καὶ
 Ἰλirian *An.* 3. 17. 3), and the
 ph. . . uers <οὐκ> ἰόντες τὴν ἱρὴν δόδον, ἐκτρά-
 ποντι (Hdt. 6. 34). There must be a
 detachment of the body; otherwise the
 vision of the absolute will not dawn upon
 the soul. The soul must go

'The way, which from this dead and dark abode
 Leads up to God.'

If we turn aside into the path which bears
 us away from our onward and upward
 march, we shall have to retrace our steps,
 and, as Plotinus says (*En.* 1. 6. 7), 'we must
 mount again to the Good which every soul
 craves,' and with pure self behold pure
 Deity.

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NOTES

A GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THUCYDIDES IV. 54

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τῶν Κυθήρων φυλακὴν
 ποιησάμενοι ἔπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἐλος
 καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν περὶ θάλασσαν καὶ ἀπο-
 βάσεις ποιοῦμενοι καὶ ἐναυλιζόμενοι τῶν χωρίων
 οὐδὲ καιρὸς εἶη ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν ἡμέρας μάλιστα
 ἑπτὰ.

THE Athenians under Nicias, in 424 B.C.,
 captured Cythera and thence made descents
 upon the Spartan territory on the mainland.
 The two places which Thucydides mentions
 as having been attacked are Helos, a city
 and district at the mouth of the Eurotas
 (Paus. iii. 22. 3), and Asine. The question
 arises where the Asine here mentioned is to
 be placed. It would be natural to conclude
 from its mention here in conjunction with
 Helos and the fact that the whole raid
 occupied only seven days, that it lay some-
 where on the coast of the Laconian Gulf;
 and the object of this note is to attempt to
 prove that there was such a place on the
 W. coast of the Laconian Gulf and to
 suggest the site where it stood.

It has been held generally (see Smith,
Dict. of Geogr. sub. voc. Asine, Leake, *Morea*
 i. p. 279) that Thucydides here refers to
 Asine on the W. coast of the Messenia Gulf:
 and attempts have been made (e.g. Curtius,
Pelop. ii. 279, 324) to explain away the
 passages which imply the existence of a
 Laconian Asine. This, I think, is im-
 possible

It is true that Asine in Messenia is called

Laconian Asine (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 25),
 because it was at that time under Spartan
 rule, and, for the same reason, Neon, one of
 Xenophon's fellow-generals, who is called
 indiscriminately ὁ Ἀσιναιῖος and ὁ Λακωνικός
 (*Anab.* vii. 2. 1 and 29), may quite as
 probably have belonged to Asine in Messenia
 as to a Laconian place of that name. It is
 also true that Pausanias, who gives a very
 full account of the W. coast of the Laconian
 Gulf, does not mention any place of the
 name of Asine as situated in that district.

Leaving Pausanias for the moment, we
 may turn to the evidence of Strabo and
 Polybius. Polybius (v. 19) relates how
 Philip V. of Macedon when invading
 Laconia was repulsed at Asine, which, he
 implies, was not far from Gythion: an
 engagement which Pausanias (iii. 24. 6)
 represents as taking place near Las. This
 has been explained away on the theory that
 there is some confusion with the hill of Asia,
 which lay near the city of Las (Paus. *loc. cit.*);
 and the fact that Strabo (viii. p. 363)
 mentions Asine in conjunction with Gythion
 as lying on the Laconian Gulf has been
 explained as due to copying the mistake of
 Polybius.

This mistake of Polybius and Strabo
 does not, however, recommend itself as
 probable, and the theory must rely for its
 chief support on the silence of Pausanias.
 The key to this silence on the part of
 Pausanias and at the same time to the
 probable site of Asine is to be found, I
 think, from a study of the route taken by

Pausanias in his journeys in S. Laconia. What his route was is quite clear from an examination of his account of this district. He started south from Gythion (iii. 24. 6) and visited Las, the temple of Artemis Dictynna and Arainos on the coast south of Las. From there he turned inland by the pass through which the modern road runs from Gythion to Areopolis and visited Pyrrhicus (iii. 25. 3), the modern Kavalos (see *B.S.A.* x. p. 160). From thence he made another journey to the coast of the Laconian Gulf and visited Teuthrone (iii. 25. 4), the modern Kotrones, whence he probably took ship to Taenarum. By turning inland to Pyrrhicus and then doubling back to the coast at Teuthrone, he missed the inlet known at the present day as the Gulf of Skoutari, which is separated from the bay of Teuthrone (Kotrones) on the south by a high range of hills running down to the sea.

Now it is extremely improbable that the shores of such a splendid bay as that of Skoutari should not have been the site of a settlement of some kind in antiquity.¹ And indeed in the village of Skoutari at the head of the bay there are vestiges of antiquity in the form of columns built into houses and remains of Roman masonry near the sea shore. I would suggest therefore that the site of Laconian Asine was on the Gulf of Skoutari—a position which corresponds with the accounts given by Strabo and Polybius, and which would also account for the silence of Pausanias. Asine was clearly a common place-name in Greece, since, beside Messenian Asine, there were other places of the same name in Argolis and (according to Steph. Byz. *sub. voc.*) in Cyprus and in Cilicia: so there can be no objection to adding to the list.

The theory here proposed, if accepted, suits the passage of Thucydides excellently. Nicias, instead of attacking Gythion, which was probably too strong, made raids at two

points on the Laconian Gulf the following which lay on the old road from *Ἰσθμὸς τοιαύτου* Sparta and which was worth describing since it was probably a district which supplied corn to Sparta, and at Asine, on the site of the modern village of Skoutari, which was the nearest convenient landing-place on the W. coast of the Laconian Gulf, facing the Athenian base at Cythera.

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TERENCE, *ANDRIA* V. iv. 37–8
(940–1).

CH. At scrupulus mi etiam unus restat qui me male habet. PA. Dignus es: cum tua religione, odium, nodum in scirpo quaeris.

Professor J. S. Phillimore in *C.R.* for June would emend above thus (on the analogy of *Eun.* 651):

CH. At scrupulus mi etiam unus restat . . . PA. *in' malam rem, ubi dignus es* (or *quo dignus es, or ut dignus es*) cum tua religione, odium! nodum in scirpo quaeris.

This emendation is ingenious but seems to me quite unnecessary. Only the punctuation requires alteration, as follows:

PA. Dignus es cum tua religione, odium! The meaning then would be:

CH. But I have still one scruple remaining which makes me very uneasy. PA. (*aside*) Serve you right, you confounded old ass, with your fiddle-faddles!

This seems quite good sense and quite good Latin, *Phor.* 465 *multimodis cum istoc animo es vituperandus*, affording a fairly close parallel.

Secondly, it seems improbable that all the MSS. should have altered such a perfectly natural phrase as that suggested by Professor Phillimore, and should all have transferred the words called in question from one speaker to another.

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¹ Leake (*Morea* i. p. 278) thought it probable that there was an ancient site on the bay of Skoutari and conjecturally placed Aegila here, a Laconian town mentioned incidentally by Pausanias (iv. 17. 1); but there is no evidence at all in what part of Laconia it was.

NOTES ON TACITUS,
HISTORIES.*Histories* i. 15.

Fidem libertatem *amicitiam*, praecipua *humani animi bona*, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent; inrumpet *adulatio blanditiae et* (*blanditiae* Medicean) *pessimum* veri adfectus venenum sua cuique utilitas. This passage occurs in the speech of Galba to Piso on adoption: 'in hunc modum locutus fertur. There is a remarkable parallel in Pliny, *Panegyricus* 85, quoted by Meiser, but without comment: Iam et in privatorum *animis* exoleverat priscum *mortalium bonum, amicitia*, cuius in locum migraverant *adsentationes, blanditiae et pejor* odio amoris simulatio.

The resemblance can hardly be accidental. From the point of view of chronology it is more likely that Tacitus copied from Pliny. The date of the *Panegyric* is 100 A.D. The notes of the 1st and 2nd books of the *Histories* are supposed by Mommsen to have been in circulation about 105, 106 A.D.: on the other hand the *Panegyric* was subsequently expanded, and the passage in question may be one of the later additions, and therefore an imitation of Tacitus. It is also possible that both passages may be independently derived from some common rhetorical locus on the disadvantages of being an emperor. The passage in Pliny at anyrate confirms Freudenberg's *blanditiae et*, as against the reading of the Medicean to which Meiser adheres.

Histories iii. 52.

Ad Primum et Varum media scriptitabat (*sc.* Mucianus) instandum coeptis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates edisserens atque ita compositus, ut ex eventu rerum adversa abnueret vel prospera agnosceret.

The verb *edissero* is nowhere else found in Tacitus, and is not very applicable to the vague letters of Mucianus. *Disserens* should probably be read, especially as the Medicean gives *ut ex ventu* for *ut ex eventu*. There is perhaps another instance of this same error of anticipation in c. 74, where the Medicean gives *praemia enavatae operae* petebant clamore proximis, for *praemia navatae . . . clamore e* (Baiter) proximis.

Histories iv. 24.

Lectos e legionibus Dillio voculae duoetvicensimae legionis legato tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus, invalidus corpore, invisus militibus.

The Medicean page ends with the *inva* of *invalidus*, and I would suggest that the true reading is *ipse navibus invadit*, *invalidus* etc. Reuz in his *Alliterationen bei Tacitus* gives examples of such triple alliteration.

C. D. FISHER.

A NOTE ON THE 'DIONYSIACA' OF
NONNUS.

In the *Album Gratulatorium in Honorem H. van Herwerden* (Utrecht, 1902), pp. 137-142, Kenyon described and in part published some papyrus fragments of a late epic on the Indian expedition of Dionysus (B.M. Pap. 273). Suggesting that the epic, as the date of the papyrus shows that its author must have been 'a precursor of Nonnus, not a successor,' may be the 'Bassarica' of Dionysius, he adds: 'It must be noticed, as an argument against the identification, that Nonnus is known to have drawn materials from Dionysius, while there is no trace of his having been acquainted with our poem. The incident here narrated does not recur in the *Διονυσιακά*, and the names which appear here,—Bombyx, Prothous, Pylaon, and others mentioned below,—are not found in the other work. Only Deriades is common to both poems.'

Having recently discovered what seems to be another name common to both poems, I think it worth while to note it here. In l. 19 of the fragment published by Kenyon, which in his transcript reads $\mu. \lambda \delta . . . \epsilon \tau \alpha \nu \acute{\omicron} \nu \tau \alpha [\varsigma \kappa \tau \lambda.$, the first word is, I think, certainly $\mu \omega \delta \alpha \iota \omega \iota$. Now in the 'Dionysiaca,' 32, l. 165 (ed. Koechly) occurs an Indian of the name $\mu \omega \lambda \alpha \acute{\iota} \omicron \nu$ (also in 40, l. 236). Koechly refers to Graefe's edition for a variant reading $\mu \omega \delta \alpha \acute{\iota} \omicron \nu$, which as a matter of fact is the reading given both by the *editio princeps* (Antwerp, 1569) and by that of Cunaeus (Hanau, 1610). Marcellus (Paris, Firmin Didot, 1856) reads $\mu \omicron \rho \rho \alpha \acute{\iota} \omicron \nu$ as a conjectural emendation. As none of the earlier editors

comments on the name, it is not clear where *Μωδαίου* comes from; from Koechly *Μωλαίου* would appear to be the MS. reading. In any case, as the *Μωδαῖος* of the B.M. fragment was evidently an Indian (since Bombus and other followers of Dionysus were shooting at him), it seems fairly certain that he and the *Μωδαῖος*—*Μωλαῖος* of the 'Dionysiaca' were the same person. Thus the reading of the

earlier editors, wherever derived from, is shown to be correct; and as Modaeus was not a character of much importance, his occurrence in both the B.M. fragment and the 'Dionysiaca' is a link of some value, and perhaps tends to support Kenyon's conjecture that these epic fragments are from the 'Bassarica.'

H. I. BELL.

REVIEWS

NEMÉTHY'S CIRIS.

Ciris epyllion pseudovergilianum. Edidit, adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit GEYZA NÉMETHY, academiae litterarum Hungaricae sodalis. Budapestini, sumptibus academiae litterarum Hungaricae. 1909. 8vo. Pp. 159. 3 kronen.

CONSIDERING how serious a business it is to edit the *appendix Vergiliana*, and how much care and labour and capacity would be needed to make any signal advance on the studies of the nineteenth century, it is surprising that so many scholars should think themselves called upon to undertake the task. The last four years have brought us one whole edition and the best part of another; here begins a third, and there is a fourth preparing. One opens these successive volumes without expecting much, and if the new editors merely abandoned the gratuitous errors of the old it might well content one; but the three last texts of the *Ciris* are before me, and in u. 90 they all present as usual that time-honoured absurdity, the conjecture *somnia sunt*.

Mr Némethy, like Mr Curcio, provides his recension with a commentary, and fully half of it is devoted to the collection of verbal parallels. These are very numerous, and some of them, I suppose, have never been adduced before: certainly some should never be adduced again. At 141 he reads 'nulli non' and compares Verg. *georg.* iv 453. 'non . . . nullius'; 432 'forma uel

sidera fallas' he derives from Hor. *carm.* ii 8 10 *sq.* 'fallere (*i.e.* peierando) taciturna noctis signa'; on 73 'coniugium . . . uiolauerat Amphitrites' (Neptunus in Scyllae amore) he says 'ex Catull. 67 23-4 "sed pater illius gnati uiolasse cubile Dicitur" et Ou. *am.* ii 7 17-8 "Cypassis Obicitur dominae contemerasse torum,"' as if fathers were married to their sons or maids to their mistresses. He trusts to printed texts, and they yield him parallels which are illusory. For example on 165 he has this note: '*gelidis* Edonum *Bistonis oris*, ex Lucr. iv 830 (he means 545) "et *gelidis* cynni nocte *oris* ex Heliconis" et Calu. fr. 11 B "*frigida iam celeris superata est Bistonis ora*"' (four lines below he repeats this verse and calls it 'Calu. fr. Ius 12 ed. Baehrens' for variety). I will give what the MSS give, and we shall see what happens: '*gelidis* Edonum *Bistonis honoris*, ex Lucr. iv 545 "et *ualidis* necti *tortis* ex Heliconis" et Calu. fr. 12 B "*frigida iam celeris uergatar uistinis ora*." On the other hand he misses parallels which deserve citation. At 27 'felix illa dies' he does not quote *laud. Pis.* 159 or *Aetn.* 636. but he does quote Manil. v 568 'felix illa dies redeuntem ad litora duxit,' though anyone who reads that verse in its context and attempts to make sense of it will discover that *illa* agrees with *litora*. At 71 'infelix uirgo' he quotes Manil. v 587, Verg. *buc.* 97 (he means 47 and 52), and 'Calu. fragm. 9 (ed. Lucian. Mueller),' but he forgets 167

of the *Ciris* itself: then when he comes to 167 he forgets both 71 and his note on it, and quotes only 'Calu. fragm. 9,'—this time '(ed. Baehrens).'

In its explanatory part the commentary is less puerile than Mr Curcio's, but still elementary and superficial. Nothing hitherto obscure is elucidated (for the interpretation of 360, though right, is not new), and grave difficulties are let pass unnoticed or shouldered aside by the rudest alterations. There are 14 pages of 'adnotationes criticae,' in which things already said in the commentary are said over again, and parallels which were cited at full length are cited at full length a second time. But the MSS are nowhere enumerated, and lections are taken indiscriminately from all. The crudest interpolations of L and U,—*blandaue* for *laudate*, *cateruas* for *marinas*,—are printed without mention of a variant. Within the first hundred lines the conjectures *suspexit* 7, *libeat* 20, *currum* 26, *exterrita* 48, *uiserit* 50, *patria* 53, *infestare uoraci* 57, *castae* 73, *uixit eratque* 86, are smuggled into the text behind the reader's back. If Mr Némethy, for any reason or for none, is dissatisfied with the tradition, he will change *curae* to *sumant*, *cetus* to *uestros*, *lauro* to *circum*, *inde alias* to *hinc feminis*, *aereas* (i.e. *aerías*) *turres* to *Phoebeas t.* (though there was only one *turris Phoebea*), 'studio *iactabat inani*' to *seruabat* (in spite of Verg. *buc.* ii 5), and 'diem mortalibus *almum*' to *egit* (in spite of *Aen.* v 64). He says that 215 'caeruleas sua furta prius testatur ad *umbras*,' which is simplicity itself, 'explicari nequit,' and writes *auras*, as if that were easier. He alters *hic* to *ac* in 490 because 'sensu caret,' though it has the same sense as in Catull. 64 269. At 508, for *et tamen*, correctly used, he substitutes *at tamen*, used incorrectly, in the opinion that the latter is adversative and the former is not. His first page will furnish a fair sample of his procedure. The verses 12–15 should probably run somewhat as follows:

quod si, mirificum genus o *Mes* (salla decusque)
mirificum saeculi (modo sit tibi uelle libido),
si me iam summa sapientia pangeret arce,
<quae>
quattuor antiquis heredibus est data consors . . .

o *Messalla* is Mr Leo's (the MSS have NO. CCV. VOL. XXIII.

omnes and no more), *decusque* (i.e. mirificum saeculi genus et, modo uelis, decus) and the lacuna are mine. Mr Némethy avoids the worst mistake of the current editions, *edita* for *est data*, but he commits worse of his own:

quod si mirificum < *sophiae* > *nemus* omne < *tenerem* >
(mirificum, *Valeri*, modo sit tibi *nosse* libido),
si me iam summa sapientia pangeret arce,
quae tribus antiquis heredibus est data consors . . .

I need not remark on the artless violence of *sophiae* and *Valeri* nor on the absurdity of one man occupying a whole grove; but who are these *three* joint heirs of the citadel of wisdom? The three legates of Epicurus, 'Hermarchus, cui scholam, et *Amynomachus Timocratesque*, cui (he means *quibus*) *rem familiarem reliquit*.'

But it is at 125 that he appears in the worst light. A few years ago he proposed in Verg. *buc.* iv 47 the conjecture 'concordes stabili fatorum *nemine* Parcae' instead of *numine*. It was 'objected that 'concordes stabili firmarant numine Parcae' occurred in the *Ciris*. Now therefore he corrupts this verse to match the other, *formarant nemine*, and so deprives u. 124 of its construction.

Concerning the authorship of the *Ciris* Mr Némethy holds the least tenable of all opinions: he ascribes the work to a 'falsarius' who wished to pass it off as Virgil's. If I wished to pass off as Virgil's a composition of my own, I should not describe myself in its second verse as a disappointed politician, nor besprinkle it from end to end with those diminutive forms which Virgil did his best to banish from poetry. Mr Némethy's ability to determine the authorship of a Latin poem may be estimated from his pamphlet on *catalept.* xiii. He prints in that piece these three iambic trimeters, two of which owe their peculiarities to his own conjectures,—

stant in uadis caeno retentae turbido,
neque in culinam ad uncta nouendialia,
cinaede Pediti tuae liquere opes,—

and he assigns it, thus embellished, to Horace.

Works of this sort are little better than interruptions to our studies, and Mr Némethy was ill-advised in attempting a task

so much beyond his powers. It appears from his preface that he is an ardent and even flamboyant Hungarian patriot; so to Germans and Croats his book may possibly

afford a pleasure whose Croatian name I do not know, but whose German name is *Schadenfreude*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

BURY'S GREEK HISTORIANS.

The Ancient Greek Historians. By J. B. BURY, Litt.D., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1909. Pp. x, 281. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume, which contains the Lane Lectures delivered at Harvard last year, gives 'a historical survey of Greek historiography down to the first century B.C.' It displays the same brilliant power of expounding the results of a mass of erudition which appears in the author's *History of Greece*; and to that work it forms a valuable supplement, revealing the foundations upon which the building was erected. Indeed, the *History* may be thought to go too far in concealing the processes of construction. For example, the student there reads a sketch of the politico-historical views of Theraenes and his party—the pre-Solonian *πάτριος πολιτεία*, the sequence of demagogues and the rest; but only from the present book will he gather that this sketch is derived mainly from an interpretation of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. Even in this book the references to the Greek authors might with advantage be more complete.

The reconstruction of the work of the early Greek historians mainly concerns the specialist, essential though it is as a background to the humanity of Herodotus and the originality of Thucydides. But the ordinary student will find that for the criticism of the two great historians Professor Bury's three lectures supersede all previous handbooks. Herodotus's great service (apart from literature) 'consisted probably in the collection of unwritten material concerning modern history: this floating matter he wrought with masterly skill into a framework of facts constructed by predecessors.' His

scepticism, Prof. Bury holds, is wholly pre-Sophistic, and learnt from Ionia; sometimes, indeed, he takes 'the inventions of Ionian *esprit*' too seriously. Both his faith and his doubt are *naïf* and instinctive. The greatest complaint against him is his incompetence in military history.

Prof. Bury will have none of 'Thucydides Mythistoricus.' Mr. Cornford denies Thucydides either a clear idea of causation or the vocabulary to express it. (How, by the way, can one translate *αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία*, i. 11, without allowing to the writer both the notion of cause and the recognition of economic factors in history?) Prof. Bury admits the shifting meanings of *αἰτία* and *πρόφασις*, but urges that the 'various use of the word does not imply any confusion of thought; we use the word "reason" with similar elasticity; the context decides the sense.' He proceeds to defend Thucydides' account of the causes of the war. The independence of Megara did not weigh heavily with Corinth; on the contrary, in 433 Corinth was ready to do a deal, and sacrifice Megara in return for a free hand in dealing with Corcyra: this is the meaning of the diplomatic language of i. 42. 2. War once decided on, the grievance of Megara was brought to the front; the alliance of Athens with Corcyra could not be represented as illegitimate, though it was the first effective cause of the war. Mr. Cornford well explains the motives of Athenian policy in regard to Megara and Western aggrandisement; but as that policy never became effective, Thucydides follows his method in saying nothing about it. His view of history, Prof. Bury argues, was purely rationalistic. In style he was influenced by the drama, as by rhetoric; but *Hybris*, *Peitho*, and *Eros*

belong to his style and not to the substance of his thought. *Tyche* meant for him, as for us, no mystical power, but simply the incalculable and unforeseen. The plague was the result of *Tyche*; so was the fact that Pericles had no successor, and this is the key to the decline of Athens. Alcibiades, Thucydides implies, might have retrieved the situation, but his *λαμπρότης* was distrusted. The Melian dialogue is not worked up as an ill-omened prelude to the Sicilian expedition (which, according to Thucydides, was not ill-advised in its inception); it is merely taken as an opportunity to exhibit the real springs of political actions—viz. not moral ideas, but reasons of State. To display politics in this dry light (Professor Bury insists) is his object throughout.

Prof. Bury offers a most interesting suggestion as regards Thucydides' remarkable variation of style. 'Two voices are there,'—one straightforward and clear, the other obscure and artificial. The latter, it is suggested, he adopts when he is speaking for himself. This accounts for its use in some speeches and not in others, and also in the passage on the excesses of party-strife, which confessedly contained the author's own reflexions.

In the later lectures the treatment supplies an interest which the subject sometimes lacks. Xenophon is dismissed as a dilettante. The new papyrus fragment is assigned to Cratippus, because there is nothing against him; and certainly it is far from *echt Theopom-*

pisch. Later history became rhetorical and edifying; it supplied the public with light reading. Alexander originated official contemporary memoirs; but they were ignored by the compilers until Arrian, and were imitated only by Caesar. Of Roman historiography, as a mere offshoot of Greek, Prof. Bury says much that is suggestive. He ends with a deeply interesting discussion of the use of history. Thucydides first claimed for it a practical purpose: it gives examples and warnings, since the future will resemble the past. With Polybius this conception received definiteness from the Stoic theory of *ἀνακύκλωσις*. We moderns have learnt that history does not repeat itself. Yet only by the past can the present be explained, so that history remains the school for statesmen and citizens. The 'historical sense' now tempers our moral judgment of the past, and must force us to realize the relativity of the ideas and institutions of the present. For cycles we have substituted a belief in indefinite progress. Progress implies a standard of value, which lies outside history. But history supplies material for the standard to test, and in this way helps us to decide whether we have progressed in the past, and so may hope to progress in the future. Herein, Prof. Bury hints, is the 'appealing interest' of the study: it may even afford 'some clue to the destinies of civilisation.'

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THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF ROME.

Ferrero: The Greatness and Decline of Rome.

Vol. V. Translated by H. J. CHAYTOR.
London: Heinemann. 1909. Pp. 371.
7s. 6d.

THE English translation has now overtaken the original, and most readers will finish the fifth volume with feelings of wonder and alarm at the proportions the work will assume if the tale of the decadence is to be told to the end. By the common reckoning we are, at the death of Augustus, a full

century from the golden age, and though we cannot suspect Ferrero of entertaining old-fashioned illusions as to the age of the Antonines, yet he has made it abundantly clear that the greatness is still to come.

It is possible to be well aware that the reign of Augustus was a very difficult period, concealing behind unparalleled splendour and serenity, a very widespread uneasiness and distress, without in the least accepting the violent, almost abusive judgment which the historian passes on the Prince and his

government. We are asked to believe that throughout his life Augustus had before his eyes two main objects: the regeneration of the oligarchy which had been crushed and scattered by the dying struggles of the Republic, and the annexation of the unexplored hinterland of Gaul. The Lex Julia and the German campaigns give the keynote of his policy. His daughter's infamy and the Clades Variana give the measure of his unsuccess. So judged, the principate of Augustus was as calamitous as the reign of Louis XIV. But is there any reason for believing that Augustus ever meant to succeed in the double policy, in which, if he did, we must confess he most conspicuously failed?

It is perhaps a presumptuous thing to say of a writer who has been particularly recommended to the public as being no less a politician than a historian, but the truth is that Ferrero does not seem very clearly to realize the nature of political forces. In describing the break-up of the Republican régime, he was perfectly right in laying stress on the play of faction and party, plot and passion, action and intrigue, because those were the tendencies which, when once the vast organism of the Constitution had come to a standstill, sapped its stability and brought it to the ground. At the end of the Republic we are in one of those periods when the main current is imperceptible and the eddies fill all the air with their noise. But if we pass from the Empire as it was when Caesar died, to the Empire as it was when Tiberius came to the throne, we cannot fail to realize that between the two lies a great constructive age. Some great power has been at work, making for order and union and stability, and no good ground has yet been shown for denying that in the main that power was the patient and flexible genius of Augustus.

Ferrero's answer would be that the social and economic union of the Mediterranean world achieved itself without direction from any man. He even goes further, and insists on the paradox, that the success in this matter of the government of Augustus was due to the weakness of his rule. If he had possessed the power to govern the world at all he would have governed it badly, because what the world needed was something which

no statesman could give or even understand. Ferrero says in one place with profound truth, that Augustus knew that the power of Rome was limited, compared with her prestige. Augustus did know it, and knowing it he left behind a government which retained almost all that could be retained of the ancient form and routine in which that prestige had been for two centuries embodied. He also left a new army, a new administration and a new frontier system, none of them things which fashion themselves out of inarticulate aspirations, destinies and yearnings. Augustus did not create the Roman union, but so far as we can see, he and his successors who trod in his footsteps did create the barriers behind which and the framework within which the union was consolidated and organized as a polity.

Augustus' services to Rome are summed up by Ferrero in his Gallic policy and in his republicanism. As a result of the first the Empire became permanently and solidly, if not preponderantly, Western. He has very rightly seized the fact that the Romanization of Gaul, the first area outside the Mediterranean ring to be admitted into partnership with Mediterranean civilization, is a process of immense historic significance. It meant in the long run France, and France means modern Europe. For that reason it deserved to be treated on the largest scale. Needless to say, the economic side of the picture is drawn with elaborate skill. But we hear as much about the freedman Licinus and his room of gold as about Agrippa and his roads, and as to the details of the organization, we have to be content with a statement which is certainly brief, and, compared with the importance which the author himself gives to the subject, is positively perfunctory.

The German policy in turn is made to depend almost wholly on the design of securing a permanent frontier for the Western Egypt. Here again we are left asking for more. Nor is it by any means clear that the old theory is not after all the right one, that the Empire was essentially a Greco-Italian empire, and that its frontier had to be so drawn that the defences of the north-west and the north-east might be a mutual support. From Augustus to Marcus Aurelius the real problem seems to have been: Black

Sea to North Sea, what is the cheapest line to hold? In a coherent scheme of defence, Pannonia was more important than Germany, and when the crisis came, if Germany was lost Pannonia was saved. The final frontier was perhaps a second best, but the essential points were secured, and but for the work of Augustus, and in this connection Augustus, Agrippa and Tiberius are one, it is difficult to see that the Roman world would ever have gained the material security in which its work of universal fusion was performed.

On the question of Augustus' relations to the aristocracy it is difficult to say anything new which shall not be palpably untrue. The naïve psychology of the older historians which explained all strong measures as tyranny and all concessions as hypocrisy is no longer available. Augustus was a conservative, and probably had a genuine liking for aristocracy. After all, he was the grandson of a money-lender. Succeeding to the popularity which naturally awaited the saviour of society and the west, he found society passing through a phase of moral uneasiness, not unnatural in its position and by no means uncommon. He did not initiate, he merely led. Hundreds of sober families must have welcomed the Lex Julia and the social reforms as giving official sanction to their own view of life. But the millennium did not happen: it never does. Out of this simple story to invent, as Ferrero does, deep-laid plots worthy of Robespierre for moral regeneration, a reign of domestic terror worthy of New England, action and reaction, a Drusus the idol of the Puritans, an Ovid the official spokesman of the Libertines, is simply to misread the commonest process in national life for the sake of a lurid social picture.

As to the Constitution, it is impossible for us to express in a formula what Augustus deliberately contrived never to express at all. He was a republican in the sense that he was an instinctive Tory, that he had an embarrassing aristocracy to manage, that as a matter of legal routine he found it easier to govern as a magistrate than as a sovereign. There is no harm moreover in calling him a republican if we remember that the cardinal points of the republican constitution, popular control of the elections and senatorial control of the army, were obliterated, almost in set terms, by the new constitution. That Augustus meant the senate to be a real and not merely a picturesque element in the State we may be sure. We can only believe that he meant it to be the predominant partner by supposing him to be blind to the fact that the new administration and the new army were creating a new aristocracy. Here indeed he failed, but the reason of his failure is still a mystery. The Senate of the Empire must have been an unparalleled repository of official experience, its story as a governing body is one of unfailing ineptitude. Individually, its members seem to have been fully equal to their work: collectively it was nothing. And it shows a singular lack of insight or sense of proportion in a historian to tell in full the rather commonplace story of the failure of the aristocratic revival, as if the personal misdoings of the unemployed rich were of importance to anyone but themselves, and leave out of his analysis the achievement which gives Augustus his unique place in history, the foundation of the Imperial military and civil service which for centuries held the fabric of the world together.

G. M. YOUNG.

ROMAN POTTERY.

Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS. Printed by order of the Trustees. 1908. 4to. Pp. liv + 464. Text figures 283. Plates xlv. £2.

FOR more than a decade the study of Roman pottery has engaged the attention of archaeo-

logists in Germany. The studies of Dragendorff, Ritterling, and Koenen, are familiar to all who are interested in the subject. In France the work of Déchelette, published in 1904, has marked an epoch in the history of such investigations. Up till now England has lagged behind. As yet we know nothing of the pottery found at Silchester or Caerwent.

At Gelly Gaer and Melandra, where some detailed treatment has been attempted, the material was unfortunately scanty, although it is however precisely in such outposts of the Empire that we may hope to obtain the material for a chronological series of types of Roman pottery, such as would be of the utmost value to the excavator. In these circumstances the publication of a detailed catalogue of the Roman pottery in the British Museum is a particularly welcome contribution to the study. This handsome volume, with its interesting introduction, is the work of Mr. H. B. Walters, whose *History of Ancient Pottery* is already well known. The catalogue includes 'the enamel glazed wares of the Graeco-Roman period found on Greek sites, such as Kertch, Asia Minor, Africa, and Sardinia, the pottery of Italy subsequent to the introduction of the typically Roman red glaze and the terra sigillata and other ornamental and plain wares found in Gaul, Germany and Britain.' While the Arretine vases must always attract the attention of students as beautiful things of a great period, and as the models from which the vast subsequent output of provincial ceramic took its beginnings, for most archaeologists the chief interest of this volume will lie in its treatment of this collection of Terra sigillata, the 'Samian ware' of older writers, and of specimens of Romano-British ware. Of these two classes, some 2,800 items are enumerated, most of them being fragments of decorated Terra sigillata found on British sites; a very large number of these are from London. An exhaustive description is given of each item, and a note is added indicating its provenance and citing references to any publications in which it has previously been mentioned. Many of the potters' stamps are reproduced in facsimile, and there are numerous illustrations. The finer pieces are shown in plates appended to the volume. We could have wished that it had been possible to reproduce a larger number of the pieces on which the makers' stamps appear. The potters who produced decorated bowls were probably fewer in number than those who produced plain wares, and the examples of their work frequently present distinct characteristics of style by which their makers

can be distinguished. Mr. Walters classifies the entire collection of Terra sigillata under the three heads—Rutenian, Lezoux, and German ware. That it should be possible to attempt this is due to the work of Monsieur Déchelette and Herr Ludowici. Such classification is of the highest importance in the investigation of Roman sites, and indeed in connection with many finds of purely native origin with which Roman pottery is associated. It supplies a basis of dating. Rutenian pottery indicates the first century. For the most part Lezoux and German wares tell of the second century. The exact period at which the potteries of Lezoux began to export their products to Britain and the Rhine is still somewhat uncertain. The pottery found at Pompei, and therefore earlier than A.D. 79, is identified by Déchelette as Rutenian, and it is also doubtful whether any large quantity of the wares of Lezoux reached the Rhine much before the end of the first century. It is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Walters is able to catalogue no fewer than twenty-four fragments of Lezoux bowls of the earliest, carinated shape (Dragendorff's Type 29), all probably found in London. The period of production of these bowls is placed by Déchelette between the years A.D. 40 and 75. This would appear to indicate that the export to Britain from Lezoux began somewhat earlier than we have hitherto believed. We have, however, no trace of these early Lezoux bowls among the sherds from the vessels brought into Northern Britain in the expedition of Agricola, indeed the great bulk of the decorated ware in Scotland which can be definitely assigned to an early date appears to be Rutenian, and there, as on the Rhine, there was probably no great export from Lezoux before the end of the first century. It is not always easy to identify the wares of these different potteries, especially in the so-called Transition Period, and one or two of the pieces which Mr. Walters illustrates as examples of Lezoux might possibly be assigned by other authorities to Rutenian potteries. Thus the lions' heads of Fig. 178 are classified by Déchelette as from La Graufesenque. The fragment is in the style of the potter GERMANVS. A similar fragment is figured by Professor Knorr in his

study of the sigillata from Rottweil—the Arae Flaviae—which was certainly occupied in the first century, and where most of the pottery found is early. Fig. 183 also occurs at Rottweil as part of the decoration of a carinated bowl bearing the stamp of GERMANVS. The potter CRVCVRO, who is here definitely assigned to Lezoux, is certainly doubtful, a good specimen of one of his bowls which has been carefully mended occurs at Rottweil, and his ware has recently been found in a deep rubbish pit belonging to the earliest period of the fort, at Newstead, near Melrose, in association with a platter [D. 18] of the Graufesenque potter VITALIS. It seems possible that the beginnings of Lezoux have usually been placed somewhat too early. One at least of the leading potters of Déchelette's second period, A.D. 75 to 110, DIVIXTVS, must have flourished far into the succeeding period. In Scotland, where the Roman pottery readily divides itself into two distinct groups corresponding respectively with the advance of Agricola and with the Antonine occupation, the potter DIVIXTVS attaches himself to the second. His stamp and fragments in his style have been found in several of the forts, notably at Birrens, where early pottery is entirely wanting. It is true that the fine bowl of Type D. 30, stamped with his name in the British Museum, bears designs that are reminiscent of early work, but there is a coarseness in the execution which distinguishes it sharply from the pottery of the first century, and is suggestive of that copying of earlier models which is to be noted on many of the pieces produced in the second century prior to A.D. 139, recently found in the ditch of the early fort at the Saalburg.

The plain wares are catalogued with the same care as the decorated sigillata. Here Mr. Walters has followed the well-known classification of Dragendorff, employing the numbered types with which archaeologists are familiar. It is much to be desired that some common system of terminology could be devised to describe the different forms of dishes. Mr. Walters for the most part employs the term bowl, but while it is correct

to describe such types as 29, 30 and 37 as bowls, Nos. 27 and 33 are more properly cups, and Nos. 18 and 31 platters or plates. Mr. Walters has added to the Dragendorff types which he figures some new pieces, partly from Déchelette and partly from among the late types of the Pudding Pan Rock series. To these might be added the shallow bowl with wide flat projecting rim, ornamented with leaves in barbotine and having a shallow spout, of which a specimen is catalogued under M 2397. This is a typical first century vessel, and differs from Dragendorff's Types 35 and 42.

The Romano-British fabrics, known as Castor, the New Forest and Upchurch wares, are responsible for some 320 items of the Catalogue. Of these Castor ware is the only one that can lay claim to any artistic merit. Of their chronology we have yet much to learn. The New Forest ware appears to have been employed over a more limited area than either of the others. It does not seem to have reached Scotland. Specimens of dark polished ware, with simple decoration, probably Upchurch wares, occur in the earliest period at Newstead, while the Castor ware, with its hounds and deer and winding foliage, is mainly associated in the North with the Antonine period. The Catalogue includes a number of specimens of mortaria, and reproduces some of their makers' stamps. The stamps of the makers of amphorae are however wanting. It is curious that these, so eloquent of Roman trade routes, should be unrepresented in the British Museum collection.

Mr. Walters gives in his introduction a complete list of the Gaulish and German potters' stamps in this collection, and the volume is furnished with a table of subjects on Gaulish pottery and with indices, all of which will be most useful for reference. The British Museum is the first of the great European Museums to issue a catalogue of its Terra sigillata. It is to be hoped that before long it may be followed by similar catalogues of such collections as Bonn, Trier, and St. Germain.

JAMES CURLE,

PRAENESTE.

A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste. By R. VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1908 (being *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series xxvi., Nos. 9, 10). 8vo. Pp. 101. 5 plates.

THE work before us is, we may hope, only a first attempt, destined to be re-published in a revised form. For while, on the one hand, it represents a considerable amount of conscientious labour and study, it betrays inexperience both in literary composition and in the use of evidence, and one feels that the author is overweighted with what is, it must be confessed, a very difficult subject. For, despite the large amount of discussion which has been devoted to Praeneste and its famous temple of Fortune, and the voluminous literature of the subject, nothing like certainty as to the arrangement of the temple itself, and the identification of its different parts, has as yet been attained. The recently announced discovery by Prof. Marucchi¹ of the famous *lithostroton* mentioned by Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvi. 184) as having been placed by Sulla in *Fortunae delubro* may provide a solution to the problem, if it meets with general acceptance. The work before us, too, lacks a plan of the town, so that its detailed descriptions are not easy of comprehension to anyone to whom Praeneste is not familiar. By far the best available, I may add, is that of Blondel (with a short but good text, and with an elevation of the existing remains) in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* ii. (1882), pp. 168 *sqq.* and pl. iv. v., which seems to have been little used by our author.

As I have dealt more generally with the the book elsewhere² a few criticisms on detailed points may find their place here.

On p. 23 the author announces the discovery of a hitherto 'mostly unknown, often neglected or wrongly described, and wholly misunderstood' cyclopean or polygonal wall,

running east and west through the modern town, which was, he considers, the lowest (southern) wall of the earliest city. This wall is however quite clearly shown (not merely 'a little of it,' as our author asserts on p. 24, n. 33) by Blondel, who points out that its height is at several points determinable as being six metres—not enough for a wall of defence; and examination of it has convinced me that the work, with its fine jointing and smooth faces, cannot reasonably be assigned to an earlier date than any of the other walling of the kind in Praeneste.

In the same connexion he wrongly states (p. 25) that there is no trace of cyclopean wall stones below the Porta S. Francesco on the west, as far as the Porta del Sole on the east: for a piece of walling of large rather rough blocks exists *in situ* (and not relaid, as he states in his footnote) about 60 yards below Porta S. Francesco³; and 100 yards further down are three courses of *opus quadratum* with irregular bossing. Nor can I accept the distinction which he draws in respect of date between the two portions of the wall on the east side, that above and that below his crosswall.

Nor is his description of the 'main and triumphal entrance to Praeneste,' (p. 29 *sqq.*) at all convincing, if examined with care on the spot. His idea is that a road ascended gradually, upon an intermediate terrace, both on the east and on the west of the break in the centre of the lowest of the various ancient terrace walls which support the modern town, and that they joined at the break and thus entered the town. But this break is on a level, not with the intermediate terrace, but with the ground outside, as the decorative niches on each side of it clearly indicate. (On p. 31 for 'a very obtuse angle of newer and different tufa,' we should read

³ It was therefore unnecessary to accuse Nibby of having written his note on the wall in *Analisi*, ii. 511 from memory; and the description of the two reservoirs (not one) given by Nibby, though not very clear, does not contain the statement that they were on the hill of Praeneste. There is as a fact another on this hill, not far from Porta S. Martino, which neither writer mentions.

¹ *Bull. Com.* 1909, 66.

² *English Historical Review*, xxiv. 325.

'an angle of modern concrete.') Whether the *seminaria a Porta Triumphale* mentioned in *C.I.L.* xiv. 2850, can be taken to refer to this entrance is extremely doubtful—one would naturally consider the reference to be to the city of Rome.

Space will not permit me to carry my examination further. In the historical portion

of the book, too, there are some rash inferences based on little or no evidence. But the author has obviously spent time and trouble on his subject, and by subjecting the work to a thorough revision and amplification, might well produce something of permanent value.

T. ASHBY.

GERCKE'S 'SENECAE NATURALES QUAESTIONES.'

L. Annaei Senecae Opera quae supersunt.
Volumen II. *L. Annaei Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum Libros VIII* edidit ALFRED GERCKE. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xlvii + 274.

IN one of his letters Seneca gravely informs us that fowls will run from a cat, whilst the approach of a dog leaves them unmoved, and he tries to find an explanation for a state of things which a very moderate amount of investigation on his part would have shewn him to have no existence. Perhaps his research students misled him; as Quintilian tells us they sometimes did; perhaps he was simply reproducing an authority; possibly he was borrowing from his rhetoric notebook, for we know, again from Quintilian, that Natural History illustrations were often invented in the schools, as they were in later times by the Euphuists, for the sake of passing off a paradox or an epigram upon the hearers. Whatever the cause of the error, it tells against Seneca as a scientific observer, and so we are not surprised to find him writing to Lucilius who is in Sicily for a description of Aetna instead of undertaking the journey and the investigation himself. Seneca would never have perished as the elder Pliny did—or indeed as Bacon did. In the work now before us he says, 'Some people say hard snow is less chilling to the feet than slush: I've not tried it, and am not going to: try the experiment on your least valuable slave (*in Care*)': what sympathy could he have had with the Englishman who contracted a fatal chill from the use of snow in a scientific experiment?

It is indeed only too obvious how ready Seneca is in the *N.Q.* to drop science and enter on one of his moralising disquisitions: anyone who wishes to see a typical example of his skill in what rhetoricians labelled as *transitio* should glance at IV b. 13. 1. Yet in the Middle Ages and for long afterwards the book took its place on the shelves along with Mela, Pliny and Solinus. The *Gesta Romanorum* quote it, Roger Bacon used it freely, Milton in his treatise 'Of Education' names it with Vitruvius, Celsus and the writers just mentioned: in Germany Martin Opitz worked not only the parts directly concerned with earthquakes, but also the prologue to the first book, into his *Vesuvius*. 'You shall read,' says Walton, 'in Seneca's Natural Questions, *Lib. 3, Cap. 17* that the ancients were so curious in the newness of their fish, that etc.' Nowadays the book, so far as its subject is concerned, is valuable mainly to those who care to study the history of the early days of science and who find here a rich mine for the theories and discoveries of the Greek physicists. But even the most practical of modern scientists may be interested by the details which Seneca gives us as to the Campanian earthquake of 63 A.D., recognising in his account of the sheep which perished near Pompeii the effects of the poisonous gases which accompany the volcanic class of earthquake.

With the volume before me the new Teubner edition of Seneca is complete: it is not intended that Haase's supplementary volume should be revised. Gercke's investigations into the MSS. of the *N.Q.* have

been very thorough, and the results have been incorporated in his *Seneca-Studien* (Leipzig, 1895). The preface in the Teubner volume is mainly a summary of this work, and is not easy reading. The hand of Time has fallen heavily on the *N.Q.* It is certain that in our MSS. two separate books, dealing, the one with the Nile, the other with Clouds, have been telescoped into one—not without damage to some of the compartments. There were originally at least eight books, and in the new edition the two sections of Book IV are numbered respectively IV a and IV b. Then again, the MSS. vary greatly as to the order in which they present the books. The bulk of the best class Φ begin with IV (at the words *grandinem hoc modo*, of 3. 1, *i.e.* IV b), giving next V–VII, then I–III, and concluding with the remaining part of IV (*i.e.* IV a).¹ The order to which we are accustomed is that of the MSS. of the careless and interpolated Δ class (many of which drop IV a entirely) and of the composite class to which G. applies the name *libri vulgares*. The first question with which the preface deals is that as to the order in which Seneca actually wrote the books. G. decides that this was as follows: III, IV a, IV b, II, V, VI, VII, I. Passages like III. 1. 2 where the treatment of the Nile is deferred to ‘its own book,’ and IV a. 1. 1 (‘I’ll deal with the Nile, postponed *superiore libro*’) enable us to assume with confidence the priority of III to IV a, V to VI, VII to I. But G.’s theory requires more than this, and he proceeds to cite evidence which is much less convincing. Can, *e.g.*, the fact that II. 59. 5 contains a brief version of the tale told in IV a. 2. 13 be regarded as proving that it is in the latter book that it is first told? Do Seneca’s words in VI. 8. 3 ‘nescis inter opiniones quibus enarratur Nili aestiva inundatio et hanc esse: a terra illum erumpere etc.’ help us in the least to decide whether he had or

had not yet composed the Nile book?² I think not, and, if we must have a theory, I prefer distinctly the one given by Rehm in the last volume of *Philologus* (pp. 374 *sqq.*), which assumes that the books were written in the order in which the best MSS. present them. Rehm believes that the first six books (IV b–II) were reckoned as handling *sublimia*, the last two (III–IV a) as handling *terrena*, the *caelestia* (for whatever reason) not having been handled at all. And he claims that he was led to his conclusions by considerations altogether independent of the MSS. tradition. Passing over the second section of the preface, in which G. tries to shew that the whole work was published by the philosopher’s friends after Nero’s death, I come to the section which deals with the history of the work when edited, the most important part of which is that in which we learn how Lucan’s tenth book and Lydus’ fourth enable us to recover much of what is lost of IV a.³ A fourth section begins with an account of the Archetype, followed by an attempt to explain how the variation in the order of the books came about, and a fairly full account of the MSS. G. believes that a MS. which had the order I–VII lost eight leaves in the centre so that the two parts I–IV a, IV b–VII could be, and actually were,

² I must take this opportunity of protesting against the view, held not only by G., but also by Diels and probably others, that the prologue to III is the preface to the whole work. Of course such a view is very useful for G.’s theory as to the order of composition, but the words on which the view is based, ‘non praeterit me quam magnarum rerum fundamenta ponam senex,’ are in no way incompatible with the view that several books (six, if Rehm is right), had already been written. These prologues are independent pieces of writing, and the sentiment ‘It is a bold thing to begin writing on Natural Philosophy late in life’ might stand in the prologue of any of the books of *N.Q.* Indeed, if we are to base the order of composition on the prologues, Book II would have a very good claim to come first, as its prologue discusses the sub-divisions of the subject-matter of the whole work. Gericke is clear-sighted enough here, and his remarks on p. viii ‘neque in ea re offendimus quod talis scriptor dispositionem doctrinae medio inseruit operi (Book II comes fourth in his order), sine dubio . . . artificis dialogorum ductus’ apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the prologue to Book III.

³ The passages of these writers bearing on this point are given in the text on pp. 157 *sqq.*

¹ These MSS. vary also as to their numeration: most, however, recognise a total of eight books, IV b being numbered I, whilst V–VII=II–IV, I–III=V–VII, and IV a becomes VIII. Roger Bacon used a MS. of this type, for he ascribes passages, *e.g.* from our VI and VII to the third and fourth books, whilst the Nile book is with him the eighth.

transposed.¹ Two brief sections 'De codicum correcturis' and 'De textu emendando et edendo' conclude this part of the work.

As for the text, a glance at it shews two great improvements on Haase: the presence of an apparatus at the foot of the page, and the use of italics to mark all emendations. The apparatus might surely (as so often is the case) be made more serviceable by relegating to an appendix many details which, worthy of record in some place, are of no importance to ninety-nine out of a hundred scholars who will use the book. I mean such notes as these: p. 193. 7 '*indempnem* plerique codd.'; *ib.* 14 '*exanimatum*] *exanimatum* λ'; p. 194. 6 '*auxili et solaci* Skutsch' (for -ū!); *ib.* 11 '*uindicat*] *uendicat* AST'; p. 195. 8 '*caput*] *capud* AHJKMO' etc. etc. The actual text varies from Haase's mainly through the more consistent rejection of Δ readings and the adoption of emendations made since his edition appeared. Many are very desirable, such as I. 14. 3 '*intellegimus qua ierit* (for *perit*) *stella*,' *ib.* 17. 4 '*multa ex hoc consecuturus*' (for -untur), III. 18. 1 '*languor somniculosae*

inertisque luxuriae quam sero experrectus' (for *longa* s. i. l. q. s. *expressero* etc.), v. 18. 3 '*fruges percoqui non possent*' (for *percipi*), VII. 31. 3 '*armaturae genus*' (for -atur *egenus*). On the other hand, in III. 23 *praestitum* cannot be right, as the meaning required is 'proved,' the emendation in III. 26. 7 assumes the rare genitive *uis*, and there are other cases in which Latin or Senecan usage is neglected: e.g. I. 5. 2 where the text is punctuated as follows: '*sed quomodo imago, similis reddi debet e speculo*' and a note explains that we are to supply *redditur* with *imago*. A curious instance of failure to use an emendation ready to hand is II. 59. 11 where G. prints *dilectione* rather than adopt Δ's excellent *deiectione* (for Seneca's use of which see *Ep.* 20. 16). In III. 18. 4 *ad* is a misprint for *da*: it is the only certain one I have noted, though I imagine the quantity mark in *discurrere* of VI. 29. 1 is a mere survival from Haase. I notice *etsi* retained in IV. pr. 20, *nec . . . quidem* more than once (II. 39. 2, V. 15. 1). Is *Karissime* III. 1. 1 intentional?

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

¹ See on this Rehm, *l.c.*, p. 393.

GREEK DRESS.

Greek Dress. A Study of the Costumes Worn in Ancient Greece from Pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenistic Age. By ETHEL B. ABRAHAMS, M.A. London, 1908. Pp. 134. 54 Illustrations. Price 9s.

MISS ABRAHAMS' careful survey of the history of Greek dress from the earliest times down to the Hellenistic period affords a convenient basis for the study of the various problems involved, as she gives a reliable *resumé* of the literature on the subject, both ancient and modern, supplemented by diagrams and by a very well-chosen set of illustrations. The defect for her study is the lack of any indication of the comparative value of the data supplied.

The opening chapter deals with the dress of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the

Aegean lands, which consisted for the men, of a waist-cloth, for the women, of a tight-fitting sleeved bodice open in front and a skirt either plain or flounced. The absence of any apparent connection between this costume and the draped Hellenic type fastened on the shoulders and open at one side, points to the conclusion that a difference of race underlies the difference of dress, and in this connection Miss Abrahams has overlooked an important paper by Dr. Mackenzie (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 233). He traces the Minoan 'flounced' skirt back to an original waist-cloth, the typical dress of people living in hot countries, and cites it as a further proof of the African origin of the Minoan race. It may, however, be noted that in spite of the apparently radical differences between the two types of dress, another

student of the subject maintains that the archaic Ionian costume is a direct outcome of the pre-Hellenic type. Be this as it may, the phraseology of the Homeric poems shews that the dress described therein is of the draped type and, in all essentials, resembled the Greek dress of historic times.

The main developments and variations of the two styles of this draped dress which the ancient Greeks themselves distinguished by the race names of Dorian and Ionian, are very fully discussed and illustrated, and in describing the Ionian dress of a group of archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, Miss Abrahams publishes her own theory as to the cut and shape of the elaborate pleated himation which is a notable feature of their costume (pp. 89). The novel points of this theory are the extreme length of stuff required to make the garment, and the artificial shaping of the upper edge of that portion of the material which passes across the back and the breast. This is cut out in two deep curves (Fig. 33). From the modern point of view there is no objection to this cutting, but all our information about Greek dress whether pinned or sewn, goes to prove that it was constructed out of straight-edged lengths of material, and that its effects were produced by draping the stuff, not by shaping it. Miss Abrahams explains that the shaping of the upper edge

is necessary to get rid of the superfluous material pulled up over the band to produce the rise in the middle of the lower edge characteristic of this himation. But in the early statues (cf. the "Hera of Samos") this lower edge is rendered by a continuous upward curve reaching from side to side, and manifestly due to technical inexperience; it is possible therefore that the 'rise in the centre' is due to a conflict between a traditional rendering and the sculptor's own better knowledge, intensified by his desire to display his new-found skill in treating the lower edges and folds of a pleat. On this hypothesis the himation would only be a long, narrow, straight-edged scarf, cunningly pleated and secured by the band to which the pleats were, as Miss Abrahams says, probably stitched before the garment was put on. As to the dimensions of this scarf, a comparison of the draped model (Fig. 34) with the statues, gives the impression that too great a length of stuff has been used. Miss Abrahams is undoubtedly right in saying that the pleated himation was a real garment, not an invention of the sculptor, but her theory as to its precise cut and shape, though ingenious, is not convincing.

Miss Abrahams completes her survey of Greek dress by an interesting chapter on materials and ornamentation, and by two indexes.

C. A. HUTTON.

SHORT NOTICES

Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Recensuit ALEXANDER SOUTER. Vienna: Tempsky, 1908. Pp. xxxv + 579. Price M. 19.50.

THE unknown author of the *Quaestiones* and of the *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles* which was formerly assigned to St. Ambrose is now attracting the attention he deserves. The commentary is being edited by the Jesuit Father Brewer in the Vienna Corpus, and Mr. Souter has added an excellent edition of the *Quaestiones* to his 'Study of Ambrosiaster' in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*. The author's name has not been

ascertained. In his former work Mr. Souter inclined in favour of Decimius Hilarius, a statesman of rank about the year 400, in whose life there are circumstances which favour the attribution, though direct evidence is very slight, and does no more than give the name Hilary to the writer. Dom Morin was the first to suggest Decimius, and his name carries weight. But there is a grave argument in favour of the rival claimant, Isaac the Jew. A Roman of education was so trained in rhetorical expression that his sentences inevitably fell, without thought on his part, into rhythmical cadences. This the periods of our author never do.

There is no sign whatever in him of a technical training in Latin composition. The two exceptions, a passage borrowed pretty obviously from some writer of the third century (Souter, p. 419) and the close of a homily on Easter, probably of the fourth (p. 363), are in glaring contrast to the rest of his work. Isaac must have been of Greek speech, and have known Latin as a foreign language; and this, together with some other considerations, seems decisive in his favour. It is pleasant to see that Mr. Souter has altered his judgment and accepts Isaac in his Introduction to the Vienna text of the *Quaestiones*. The question of the identity of authorship of the two works was satisfactorily settled in his 'Study.'

The contents of the *Quaestiones* are interesting, and, as Mr. Souter has pointed out, will reward further examination. The abstinence from allegory, except the inevitable speculations about number, is very striking, as is the usual good, if prosaic, sense of the writer. But for the classical student several attacks on paganism, and notably an elaborate argument *De Fato* (cap. 115), are especially important. But the variety of the contents, exegetical essays interspersed with controversial tracts, short addresses given completely with others of which fragments appear, is so wide and the arrangement, if such it may be called, so capricious, that the whole furnishes lively as well as instructive reading. In his excellent index and in his 'Study' Mr. Souter has done much for the Latin of his author, which is sound in the main and free from symptoms of dissolution, though it has some strange peculiarities, such as *de non esse* for *non deesse*, *ipse idem* as an emphatic equivalent for *idem*. The editor is almost excessively scrupulous in following his MSS., even where there are obvious lapses of the pen; but he has done well, in the interests of other writers as well as of the present one, to reject the form *idolatria*, and to insist on the correct spelling of a word in which recent editions have rashly followed MSS. of a late period. One word of interest must be mentioned in conclusion. *Corpulentia* is once used as equal to *incarnatio*. It is a not unnatural variant for *concorporatio*, *ἐνσωμάτωσις*, the charac-

teristic terms of Origen and of his Latin disciple Hilary of Poitiers. Though the diction of a rival school prevailed, there was for a time the possibility that the Alexandrian expression would be generally adopted, and 'Embodiment' might have been our English word instead of 'Incarnation.' Mr. Souter is the only Englishman save Professor Robinson Ellis who has taken part in the Vienna Corpus of Latin Patristic writers, and his work brings credit to our national scholarship.

E. W. WATSON.

A History of Art. By Dr. G. CAROTTI. Vol. I. Ancient Art, revised by Mrs. Strong. Pp. xxviii + 420. With 540 Illustrations. Vol. II. Part I. Early Christian and Neo-Oriental Art; European Art North of the Alps. Pp. xxii + 376. With 360 Illustrations. London: Duckworth & Co., 1908-9. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 5s. nett. each volume.

DR. CAROTTI has essayed to rival, if not to excel, M. Reinach in the latter's own favourite field. We confess to being somewhat tired of these tabloid books on art, and doubt if they really serve their purpose. The one under consideration, painstaking and trustworthy though it be, is almost unreadable, though its excellent bibliographies make it really valuable for reference, especially for the elementary student. Further, it is very questionable whether a multitude of microscopic illustrations is calculated to give the beginner a truer idea of art, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman, than a smaller number of well-selected photographs on a larger scale. The original author has been fortunate in obtaining Mrs. Strong as his *πρόξενος* in this country, and the translation (by Miss Alice Todd and Miss Beryl de Zoete) is also well done. The indices are full, though not very logically arranged. It only remains to note that in Vol. I. Oriental Art is contained in 94 pages (of which 29 are allotted to Egypt, 15 to 'Aegean' Art, and 13 to Assyrian), as against 136 for Greek Art and 105 for that of Italy and Rome.

H. B. W.

TRANSLATION

FROM his position, his talents, and his intimacies he seemed marked out as the one man who could and would desire to step forward as the saviour of his country. But such self-sacrifice is not exhibited by men of Scipio's type. Too able to be blind to the signs of the times they are swayed by instincts too strong for their convictions. An aristocrat of the aristocrats, Scipio was a reformer only so far as he thought reform might prolong the reign of his order. From any more radical measures he shrank with dislike if not with fear. He was a trimmer to the core, who without intentional dishonesty stood facing both ways till the hour came when he was forced to range himself on one side or the other, and then he took the side which he must have known to be the wrong one. Palliation of the errors of a man placed in so terribly difficult a position is only just: but laudation of his statesmanship seems absurd. His mind was too narrow to break through the associations that had environed him from his childhood. When Tib. Gracchus, a nobler man than himself, had suffered martyrdom for the cause with which he had only dallied he was base enough to quote the well-known line of Homer: 'So perish all who do the like again.'

SCIPIONI vero ea dignitas ea indoles eae demum amicitiae fuerunt, ut unus omnium quasi fato designari videretur qui ad rempublicam servandam cum posset tum prodire vellet. Talium autem hominum non est publico commodo se omnino dedere: sunt enim acutiores quidem quam qui de republica quae sint futura non praevideant, natura tamen magis quam iudicio flectuntur. Scipio igitur homo si quis alius nobilissimus ea tantum mala de civitate tolli volebat quibus sublati ordo suus diutius dominaturus esset, ab ipsa reipublicae ratione mutanda vel odio vel timore abhorrebat. Animi enim ambiguus ad utrasque in civitate, quoad potuit, partes ita spectabat ut numquam non integro animo sibi esse videretur: aliquando tamen alterutram suscipere coactus preorem sciens amplectitur. Condonare vero, si errasset cui in tantis rerum difficultatibus versandum esset, iuste aestimantis, laudare autem tanquam auctor reipublicae gerendae prudens exstisset absurdi iudicares. A puero enim moribus optimatum assuefactus non is erat qui alia animo concipere posset: itaque Tib. Graccho viro generosiore pro ea causa mortuo quacum ipse tantum lusisset, illud ex Homero turpissime recitavit:

ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέξοι.

L. R. STRANGEWAYS.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

OUR readers will be gratified (or not, as the case may be), to learn that the reformed pronunciation of Latin is spreading to Latin tags. It has not yet been heard in the House of Commons, we believe, but the reason for that will no doubt present itself unsought to the thoughtful mind. *Punch*, however, hitherto most conservative in this respect, had the following lines on Sept. 8, addressed to Dr. Cook:

Though your tale reads like a wheeze
Told to marines by giddy middies,
I must not doubt its *bona fides*.

ATTENTION may be called to a fourth edition of P. Cauer's *Kunst der Übersetzung* (Weidmann, Berlin), in which the author treats of the art of translation. One of his chapters is an amusing analysis of the *Schul-jargon* which has grown up around the classical authors. We could parallel this from English schools, where many words and expressions are used that are never used in speech, many mistakes in 'idiom' which would never be made without a classical text. Thus: 'within our most ancient memory,' 'these things having been accomplished,' 'by which the more'—and so

forth. Lattmann has written a paper on *Der Schuljargon des Unterrichts*: a good one might be compiled from the so-called English of Latin and Greek exercise books.

It may be worth while to draw attention to the journal of the Italian Classical Association, *Atene e Roma, Bulletino della societa Italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli studi classici* (Firenze, Piazza S. Marco, 2). This journal ranges over a wide field. Amongst recent papers are one on the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, another on the evil eye, while other subjects are excavations or museums (with many pictures), Dante's debt to Latin poets, criticisms of Italian translations, and matters of scholarship proper. Even in Italy itself Latin is declared by the *vox dei* to be 'useless,' and is assailed in consequence. It is possible that in this coming year classical study may receive its deathblow in the scheme of public instruction, and its defenders are, in the last ditch, trying to find some way in which it can be preserved. They are seeking for a change of

method as the most hopeful way out of the difficulty.

MR. SPRANGER desires us to say that his paper in the September *C.R.* was written before he had access to the fragments by the Hypsipyle discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. These prove that the words ἐφν μὲν οὐδὲς κτλ. were addressed by Amphiaras to Eurydice.

At the end of 1909 the *Classical Review* will cease to be published by Messrs. David Nutt, Ltd. Arrangements are in progress by which it would be published in connexion with the Classical Association, and the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge. Pending their completion the Editor is authorised by a few friends of classical studies to announce that the February and March numbers will appear as usual. Full particulars of the new arrangements will be issued to subscribers and the public at an early date.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

(1) The writer of the notice of the concluding volumes of the above work in *The Classical Review* for June, after stating, in his text, that the 'misprints are astonishingly few and far between,' takes exception to the author's statement (in vol. ii p. 114), that it was after 1539 that Cardinal Bembo 'acquired the once celebrated *Tabula Isiaca* (now in the Turin Museum, a spurious product of the age of Hadrian).' The reviewer confidently says, in his note: 'for *Tabula Isiaca* (the same misprint occurs in the Index) read *Iliaca*.' But it so happens that the reviewer is wrong, and the author is right. In Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. II, part ii p. 743 note, we find the statement: 'Uno de' pezzi d'antichità piu famose che ornarono il Museo del Bembo fu la *Mensa Isiaca*,' and in Charles Knight's *English Encyclopaedia*, vol. iv of 'Arts and Sciences,' p. 99, we read that 'the *Isiac table* in the Turin Museum, which is supposed to represent the mysteries of Isis, has been judged by Champollion to be the work of an uninitiated artist . . . probably of the age of Hadrian.' The same information may be found in

Westropp's *Handbook of Archaeology*, in Gsell-Fels' *Ober-Italien*, and in one (at least) of the earlier editions of Baedeker's *Northern Italy* (p. 54, ed. 1886). But in the issue of 1899, by a mistake curiously identical with that of the reviewer, the *Tabula Isiaca* is transformed into the *Tabula Iliaca*. 'The once celebrated *Tabula Isiaca*' is certainly in the Museum of Turin, and the still celebrated *Tabula Iliaca* is, as certainly, in the Capitoline Museum of Rome. The latter *Tabula* was not even discovered until shortly before 1683, some 136 years after the death of Bembo, the owner of the former.

(2) My statement that Brandis edited 'the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle and Theophrastus' rests on the title selected by Brandis himself: *Aristotelis et Theophrasti Metaphysica* (1823), and similarly in the case of two other statements criticised by my reviewer.

(3) My reviewer represents that some of my bibliographical references are vague, and selects 'as a typical instance' the statement, under the head of Traube (iii 195): 'bibliography by P. Lehmann.' He adds that 'few readers will guess that the author refers to the *Rendiconti . . . dei Lincei*, xvi (1907), 351 f.' I reply that the guess would be wrong. When I completed my necessarily brief notice of Traube (a few months after his lamented death), I

had before me the MS of the bibliography which Dr. Lehmann had prepared for the *Rendiconti*, and not for the *Rendiconti* alone. That part of my work was immediately passed for press in September, 1907, and the *Rendiconti* did not reach Cambridge until January, 1908. What more could I be reasonably expected to say at the time, without needlessly obtruding the fact that I had had the privilege of seeing the MS?

My reviewer has generously given my work the credit of being (*inter alia*) 'accurate.' I trust that my reply to some of his incidental remarks (a reply which is not intended to be exhaustive) may serve to show that his opinion as to the accuracy of the work, as a whole, is not only generous, but is also just.

For other suggestions I tender him my grateful thanks.

J. E. SANDYS.

Cambridge (July).

SUETONIUS, *DIVUS JULIUS*, 79. 2.

The Editor, THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—After reading Mr. Caspari's interesting note (*C.R.* September) on the above passage, I am not quite clear whether he regards his interpretation of this famous repartee as new or not. Most of his remarks seem to imply that it is, but the reference to Beroaldo, etc., in the last paragraph seems to mean (I have not been able to consult these editions) that Mr. Caspari's idea has been already adopted by several scholars of the first note.

In any case, I think Mr. Caspari will be glad to be reminded of the following passage of Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*, Bk. I.): 'Caesar did extremely affect the name of king; and some were set on, as he passed by, in popular acclamation to salute him king; whereupon, finding the cry weak and poor, he put it off thus in a kind of jest, as if they had mistaken his surname: *Non Rex sum, sed Caesar*: a speech, that if it be searched, the life and fullness of it can scarce be expressed: for first it was a refusal of the name, but yet not serious: again it did signify an infinite confidence and magnanimity, as if he presumed Caesar was the greater title; as by his worthiness it is come to pass till this day: but chiefly it was a speech of great allurements towards his own purpose; as if the state did strive with him but for a name, whereof mean families were vested; for Rex was a surname with the Romans; as well as King is with us.'

Since the jest about proper names is the most striking feature of Caesar's reply, one agrees that *Regem* is a better reading than *regem*. But, as Bacon says, there is much more in it than this. It is a pity that one has to choose between the two, for the sentence has its full meaning only (when spoken or) in a script or typography which knows no real difference between large letters and small. Perhaps one may suggest that we print REGEM.

Yours faithfully,

G. NORWOOD.

Cardiff, October 1st, 1909.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

* * *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Brakman (C.) *Ammianea et Annaeana*, scripsit C. Brakman, J.F. 9"×6". Pp. 38. Lugduni Batavorum, E. J. Brill. 1909. Fl. .60.

Caesar. C. Juli Caesaris commentariorum de Bello Civili liber primus. Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by the Rev. W. J. Bensly, M.A. (*Bell's Illustrated Classics, Intermediate Series.*) 7½"×4¾". Pp. 236, with 32 illustrations and 2 maps. London, George Bell & Sons. 1909. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

Colwill (Helen Hester). *Saint Teresa of Spain*. 9"×5½". Pp. xvi+344, with 20 illustrations. London, Methuen & Co. 1909. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Davies (W. O. P.) *Junior History Examination Papers. (Junior Examination Series. Edited by A. M. Stedman, M.A.)* 6½"×4¼". Pp. 72. London, Methuen & Co. 1909. Limp cloth, 1s.

Dickerman (Sherwood Owen). *De argumentis quibusdam apud Xenophontem, Platonem, Aristotelem, obvisis e structura hominis et animalium petitis.*

Dissertatio Inauguralis. 8¾"×6". Pp. 108. Halis Saxonum, Wischan & Burkhardt. 1909.

Homer. *Ὅμηρου Ὀδυσσεΐα*. Printed at the Oxford University Press with the Greek Types designed by Robert Proctor in red and black upon Kelmscott Press Paper. (The text of the *Odyssey* is that of Dr. D. B. Monro, issued by the Oxford Press in 1901.) 12"×8". London, Henry Frowde. 1909. Linen back, paper boards. Subscription price, £4 4s. net. *Limited to 225 copies.*

Köster (Dr. A.) *The Stadion of Athens*, by Dr. A. K., Royal Museum, Berlin. Translated by Jane Orr, B.A., R.U.I. 8¾"×5½". Pp. 34. Dundalk, W. Tempest. 1909.

Tacitus. L. Loiseau. *Tacite. Traduction nouvelle mise au courant des travaux récentes de la Philologie.* Préface de J. A. Hild. Tome II. *Dialogue sur les Orateurs.—Vie d'Agricola.—Des Mœurs des Germains.—Histoires.* 7¼"×4¾". Pp. 562. Paris, Garnier Frères. 1908. Fr. 3.

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DECEMBER 1909

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE BERLIN-ABERDEEN FRAGMENT OF ALCAEUS.

THE filling of gaps in a MS is a kind of missing-word game which has its peculiar fascinations for the player, but may give little satisfaction to the onlooker. Even where the gap involves the supplying of only five or six letters it is difficult to convince the critic that it is probable that the writer of the piece used the words supplied. Where the gap contains six out of twelve syllables, probability must seem to him out of the question. Still, under these apparently adverse conditions, something may be done beyond mere random suggestion. The present fragment contains a line quoted elsewhere. This helps us to the metre, and, through tracing, to the actual length of the initial gap. The beginnings of the lines of the parallel column on the right furnish evidence as to the angle made by the marginal line with the line of the writing. In three places we have a scholion which helps us to the meaning of what is lost. The conditions of restoration here are surely far from adverse, unless restoration aspire to be regeneration. Certainty we cannot have, but probability we can have if we will. And amid the almost total wreck of Greek Lyric Poetry even probability is something worth having.

The poem is one of the *Στασιωτικά*. Alcaeus, exiled by the tyrant Myrsilus, has

taken refuge in the Lesbian town of Pyrrha, and writes this poem to encourage the aristocratic party and to intimidate the tyrant. The scholion which begins opposite line 8 may be thus translated: 'in the first banishment, when after conspiring against Myrsilus Alcaeus and Phan... and their adherents failed in their plot and fled to Pyrrha before they could be brought to trial.' Strabo says (13. 617): 'Mitylene, owing to internal discord, was ruled at this period by a succession of tyrants, and the *στασιωτικά*, as they are called, of Alcaeus deal with this subject. Among the tyrants was the great Pittacus, and Alcaeus abused him as well as the rest—Myrsilus and Melanchrus, [and] the sons of Cleanax, and others—though he was not free from the taint of unconstitutional aspirations himself.'

The metre is that of Horace's first Ode, but there are variations in the first three syllables as in the other Asclepiad fragments of Alcaeus.

For the Berlin part of the poem (*a*) I have used the facsimile in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1902, i. p. 197, and for the Aberdeen part (*b*) a new photograph kindly supplied to me by Professor Harrower. Both fragments are edited in the fifth volume of the excellent *Berliner Klassikertexte*.

Text:

- (a) τίς τοι φρήν ἐνέδῃ καὶ διανοΐα,
 ἃ τόσον πεφόβησαι χρόνον, ὦ πάτρι;
 θάρση· οὐ φαίσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς Κρονίδας ἄναξ
 δαῖτω πολέμῳ ὅππαι κέ σ' ἔλη τρόμος
 5 οὐτ' ἀμφικτιόν' οὐτ' οὖν ἄλα πῆματι
 ξάπλευσαν ναῖ· ἔταν δηῦτ' ἐκατηβόλῳ
 βαλέην ἀμφί σ' αἶθλον πολυδάκρυον,
 αἰ μὴ πάντας ἀρῖστηας ἀπυκρυνέης
 αὐτὰ τῶν σέθεν· εἰς μάκρον ἀπειμῖνα·
 10 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος ἀρεΐος·
 αἰ δ' οὖν ἄλλο τις ἦ ὥς κῆνος ἐβόλ[λετο
 πόνῃ, τοῦτον ἕμῳ] μοῖρα κατέσχεθεν
] ἐπεὶ σ' ἄ μὲν ἐπέ[. . .
]ων Ζεὺς ὑπέλ[. . .
 15] αὐτῷ· τά τε[.]ει[. . .
]ς ἐβφερετωλ[. . .
]·[. . .]εἰ[.]αν[. . .
]ν[. . .
 (b)]ς τόδ' ἱησί τ[οι
 . . . Τενάγης γὰρ τάδε σά[μανε
 Αἰολίων, ὃν ἄδε]λφος Μάκαρ ἐγχαῖ
 κατέκτενε π[άροιθεν βαρυδαῖωι.
 5 ὦν ἔγω πέρι τόσσουτον ἐπέυχ[ο]μαι·
 οὕτω μήκετ' ἰδ[εσθ] αελίῳ φ[ά]ος,
 ὄλλεσθαι δὲ τάχ', α] γέ Κλεανακ[τ]ίδαν
 ἢ τὸν χιραπόδαν ἢ ῥχεανακ[τ]ίδαν
 ζᾶν ἑάσαμ' ἔτ' ἔγω, τὸν μελιαδ[ε]ος
 10 ἐκβάλλων πόλιος Μυρσίλος ὤλε[σ]εν.

Critical Notes:

Running down from *ia* in *διανοΐα* there was a vertical strip of bad surface about one letter broad, sometimes left blank by the scribe (see Schubart), and from this at about l. 14 a similar strip running diagonally downward to the right; the first is continued in (b), cutting l. 2 after *σα*; the second also may have been continued, ending in a gap between *δ* and *α* in l. 4, but this is very doubtful and cannot be used as a means of estimating the number of lines lost between the two fragments. (a) 1 Scholion *ἔεις*, i.e. *τί νοεῖς*? 4 P *ἵπαι* 5 P *οὐτ'* 6 P prob. *ναυιταν*: P *δη*[.]τ with *ῥα* over *τ*, i.e. *δητ'* corrected to *δαῦτ'* 8 Scholion (with abbreviations) *κατὰ τὴν | φυγὴν τὴν | πρῶτην δ-[-τ'] ἐπὶ Μυρσίλον | κατασκήν[ε]υσάμενοι | ἐπιβουλὴν οἱ περὶ | τὸν Ἀλκαῖον καὶ | Φαν[.] . . οὐδὲ πρῶ- | φθάσαν[τε]ς πρὶν | ἢ δίκη[ν] | ὑπο- | σχεῖν ἐφ[υ]γον[ε]ις Πύρ[ρ]αν 9 P ἔεις: P ἀπὶ 10 = fr. 23¹: P πολί[ος]: P εὐ[ί] 13 P *ἵπση* 14 P *ζεὺς* 16 between *τ* and *ω* there is a space of one letter, prob. originally blank (see above). (b) Part almost certainly of the same column, prob. of the same poem (see above) 3 or *ja* 4 *βαρυδαῖωι**

¹ Bergk¹.

if this is right there was a blank between *δ* and *α* of about three letters: P *ω*.; the letter before *ω* may be *ν* 6 or *η*: P *σθ'* 7 *ὄλλεσθαι* so P prob., but *ὤλεσεν* below: Scholion (with abbreviations) *τὸν Μυρσίλον* 8 Scholion (with abbreviations) *τὸν Φιττακόν*: P *ἵη* not *ἱη* 9 P *μελιαδ*: *ἔ* very doubtful 10 P prob. *εκβαλῶν* or *εγβαλῶν*: P has upper traces of what may be *ῖοσι* but *Πέριθιλος* is also possible: after *εἰ* there must have been a blank of one letter: *ἔεν* obscure but certain

Translation:

. . . What purpose or intent is in thee, my country, that thou hast been so long time afraid? Be of good cheer; for thus saith the great son of Cronus himself, whensoever fear of dread war hath seized upon thee: never shall neighbour foeman, nay nor one that with far-flung misery hither on shipboard passeth the sea, compass thee about with tearful combat, unless thou of thyself send afar all the best of thy people, to sunder them from thee. For 'tis men that are a city's tower in war. But if one do other than Zeus did will it, him, strive as he may, fate ever overwhelmeth. . . .

For that did Tenāges son of Aeolus prove, whom in woeful war the spear of his brother Macar slew of old. Concerning such matters² this is now my prayer: may I no longer behold the light of the sun, if the son of Cleanax, or yonder Split-foot, or the son of Archeanax, be suffered yet to live by one whom, casting him forth from his dear sweet home, Myrsilus hath done to death.

Commentary:

- (a) 1. *ἐνέδῃ*: cf. *Il.* 19. 366 *ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ | δῶν' ἄχος ἄτλητον*.
 3. *φαίσι*: grammarians quoted by Meister-Ahrens, i. p. 175 tell us that the Aeolians said, e.g., *γέλαιμι, γέλαις, γέλαι*; but no instance of *φαί* is extant, unless we admit Bergk's *φαῖ κήνοθεν* for the MSS *φοικήνοθεν* fr. 36. Probably either form could be used. Sappho uses *φίλησθα* fr. 22 but *λύπης* III.³
 4. *ἔλη*: so Papyrus, not *ἐλη*, see M.-A. i. p. 89.
 5. *ἀμφικτιόν'*: see on line 8.
 6. *ξάπλευσαν*: i.e. *διαπλεύσαντα*, see on *πάν* for *πάντα* in my restoration of the new Sappho I. 23. *ναῖ* *ἔταν*: for *ἄF* cf. *ἀνάταν* Pind. *P.* 2. 52.

² or 'men.'³ The numbering is that of my article in *C.R.* June 1909.

8. The scholion beginning to the right of this line is taken by the Berlin editors to refer to the next column, of which the beginnings of the lines are extant. Not only would this be contrary to custom, but the new poem which begins at this level in the second column—as is indicated by marks in the margin—begins further to the right as though to leave room for something already written there. Now there are traces of what must be an earlier note in another hand to the left of the first three lines of the extant scholion—for the text could not have extended so far,—and I take it that the second column was displaced at this level in order to leave a good margin between the earlier note and the column to which it did not belong. At a later date the extant scholion was written in, beginning, as usual, on the level of the phrase which it explained; but as the space it would naturally have filled was partly occupied by the earlier note, the writer had to make use—for his first three lines—of the only available space at the required level, namely that between the earlier note and the next column. After the first three lines he was free of the obstruction, and accordingly began the remaining lines of his note in their natural place further to the left. That the extant scholion was not the cause of the displacement of this part of the second column, is clear from the very close proximity of it to that column and the division of so small a word as $\delta\text{--}|\tau\epsilon$ between two lines. Instances of an earlier note displacing a line of a scholion are to be seen in the MS of the Paeans of Pindar, *Oxyrh. Papp. N.* no. 841. See particularly pp. 28 and 46. The same MS has examples of the care with which a sufficient margin was preserved between text and commentary, a line of the latter often beginning more to the right where a line of the text is longer. See p. 28 and Plate II. In the Pindar MS the only note placed on the left of the text is a poem-title, *Δελφοῖς ἐς Πυθώ*, p. 40. The abbreviation before *φθάσαντες* is obscure. The second banishment—under Pittacus in 594—was the only one hitherto known to us. The fact that they took refuge in a Lesbian town explains *ἀμφικτιόνα* above.
10. *ἀρεῖνός*: so schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 347; cf. *Il.* 4. 407, 15. 736 and Bergk's note on this line (*fr.* 23).
12. *ὅμως* = *ὅμως*.
14. *Ζεὺς*: the accent in the Papyrus bears out the statement of a grammarian quoted by M.-A. p. 36, and vindicates the authority of this MS in matters of spelling. Cf. *ελη* line 4, *εβφερε* . . below, and *μελιάδεος* (b) 9.
16. *εβφερε* . . , i.e. *ἐπιφερε* . . : is there any other evidence that in Aeolic the sound of ϕ was $b\dot{h}$ and not $p\dot{h}$ where it represented an original $b\dot{h}$?
- (b) 2. *Τενάγης κτλ.*: *τάδε* sc. that the abuse of despotic power gets its reward? Macar, the reputed founder of Lesbos, was said to have fled there after murdering his brother Tenages. Cf. *Il.* 24. 544 *Λέσβος* . . . *Μάκαρος ἔδος* and the scholia, on *ἔδος*—*ἐκτίσε γὰρ τὴν Λέσβον Μάκαρ ὁ Κρινάκου καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν αὐτῆς*, and on *Μάκαρος*—*Ἥλιν καὶ Ῥόδον. φονεύσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τεναγὴν ὥκει αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντισσαν ὠνόμασεν, τινὲς δὲ* (Hesiod *fr.* 91 M) *αὐτὸν Κρινάκου τοῦ Ὑρ(ι)έως τοῦ Ἡοσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυνύης, οἱ δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Μιτυληνὴν καὶ γυναῖκα Λέσβον. Macar is called Αἰολίων Hom. Hymn. Ap. 37. σάμανεν*: cf. *fr.* 39. 5 *κατανᾶνῃ* (Bgk.) and such pairs as *κυδαῖνω κυδᾶνω*.
3. *Αἰολίων*: cf. Sa. 85 *Λυδῖαν*.
8. *χειραπόδαν*: 'with chapped feet,' according to Diog. Laert. 1. 81 one of the names given to Pittacus by Alcaeus in his poems. I quote part of the passage from Bergk, *fr.* 37 B: *‘τοῦτον (Πιττακὸν) Ἀλκαῖος σαράποδα μὲν καὶ σάραπον (Cod. Cant. σύραπον, Hartung συρρόποδα) ἀποκαλεῖ διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τῷ πόδε, χειροπόδην δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ραγάδας [‘chaps’] ὥς χειράδας ἐκάλουν’* (cf. *Et. M.* 810. 27): *Χεῖραι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ραγάδες. καὶ χειρόποδες οἱ οὕτω τοὺς πόδας κατεργαζόμεν, οἷον ραγόποδες* nontamen propterea χειρόποδα corrigendum; Hartung *χειραπόδην* requirit' . . . Eust. 194. 40 prefers the form *χιράς*. schol. *Πιττακὸν*: so on a Lesbian coin Mionnet Suppl. vi. p. 64 (Bergk). *Ἀρχαενακτίδαν*: cf. Strabo 13. 1. 599 *Ἀρχαενακτα (sic) γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείθεν (Troy) λίθων τὸ Σίγειον τειχίσαι*.
9. *ἐάσῃμι*: Aorist subjunctive, cf. *λύσῃμι* in the other new fragment, *C.R.* May, 1909. *μελιάδεος*: the Papyrus shows the Aeolic accentuation, cf. note on *Ζεὺς* above. The word is applied to *νόστος Od.* 11. 100 and *ἕννος ib.* 19. 551.
10. *ἐκβάλλων*: the present is necessary to the sense, 'by casting out.' *Μύρσιλος*: if we read *Πένθιλος*, the sentiment is far weaker, for it was Myrsilus, as we know from the scholion, who caused the poet's banishment. Of Penthilus we know from Diog. Laert. 1. 4 that Pittacus married his sister, and that he joined the brothers of Alcaeus (and presumably Pittacus, see Suidas) in overthrowing Melanchrus, the tyrant who succeeded Myrsilus. *ὤλεσεν*: either sarcastic 'has—as he thinks—destroyed,' or more simply 'has undone.'

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A correction: On p. 73 of the *C.R.* for May the note on l. 13 should be deleted; *κάρος* appears to be always masculine.
J. M. E.

οὗτος AND ὅδε IN THUCYDIDES.

IN a recent number of this *Review* there appeared an article by Dr. Grundy, in which he revived a notion started originally by L. Herbst, that there is some difference between ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος and ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε in Thucydides. The use that he makes of the evidence and the conclusions at which he arrives appear to a grammarian like myself so strange that it seems desirable to set down a few facts that must be taken into consideration in reference to the syntax of οὗτος and ὅδε. I will state what Thucydides does when he uses these pronouns as adjectives with a noun, and I will compare his practice with that of Xenophon in the *Hellenica*. Scholars whose main interest lies in history are, if I may say so without offence, rather apt to pursue their investigations 'regardless of grammar.' But before we fall to investigating what difference there is between two such expressions, we must decide whether the laws of the language leave it probable, not to say conceivable, that any difference *can* exist between them, apart from grammatical distinctions. If the laws of grammar admit of two forms, the one chosen is generally due to the idiosyncrasy of the author. I may say that when I read Herbst's article many years ago, I had a misgiving that this idea that there is a difference of meaning according as Thuc. writes ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος or ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε is mere moonshine. Other authors use ὅδε behind and before indifferently: ἐλθὼν δὲ γαίαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῳ καὶ τόνδ' ἐσφζον οἶκον ἐς τόδ' ἡμέρας; and Thucydides himself, when in iii. 104 he is to introduce two passages from the *Hymn to Apollo*, writes first, ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι τοῖσδε, and then ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη, so that, with ἔπος at least he felt there was no difference. But, until Dr. Grundy's article appeared, I had never read Thucydides through with the object of confirming or destroying my doubts: still less had I ever thought of committing such a brutal assault on the harmless *Hellenica*.

In both works the adjectival οὗτος is far commoner than the adjectival ὅδε. The reason is that ὅδε, 'this here,' is somewhat

familiar and intimate. Except for the 'as follows' use, it is suited rather to the spoken than to the written language. This may be seen at once from the common use of τὰδε to denote 'what I am talking about,' 'the matter in hand' in the speeches of Thucydides and Xenophon. Dr. Grundy is surprised that οὗτος with ὁ πόλεμος is so rare in Thucydides as compared with ὅδε. But the explanation is quite simple. ὅδε denotes 'my subject,' 'what I write about,' the author's most intimate relation, his offspring. Thus Xenophon *Hell.* vi. 4, 37 ἀχρὶ οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο; and so Thucydides in iv. 104 is ὁς τὰδε ξυνέγραψεν. Thucydides has οὗτος with ὁ πόλεμος in three cases only: in each one he is talking of 'this war' not as his subject, but in sharp contrast with other wars not mentioned in particular. In i. 21 and 23 the contrast is between the Peloponnesian War and all the wars that preceded it. In vii. 84 it is between the Sicilian Expedition and the Peloponnesian War, and this the commentator who added Σικελικῶ saw.

In consequence of the greater frequency of οὗτος, I will deal with it first. I do not reckon instances that are direct quotations.

1. *Position of adjectival οὗτος with noun.* Of course if a μέν is used to contrast 'this' with 'another,' οὗτος comes first—ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Apart from this, Thucydides affects post-position—κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον: Xenophon prefers κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. The following figures may not be exact, but they are substantially correct:

		οὗτος before.	οὗτος after.
Thuc.	i. -	seven.	twelve.
„	ii. -	seven.	eighteen.
„	iii. -	six.	twelve.
„	iv. -	fourteen.	twenty.
„	v. -	five.	eighteen.
„	viii. -	eight.	twenty.
<i>Hellenica</i>	i.-ii. -	ten.	one.
„	iii. -	fifteen.	one.
„	iv. -	twelve.	one.
„	v. -	ten.	two.
„	vi. -	six.	none.
„	vii. -	thirteen.	four.

2. Among the nine cases of post-position in the *Hellenica*, no reason can be given for κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον (i. 1, 32), ἡ νίκη αὐτῇ (v. 2, 43), and probably ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ (vii. 5, 7). But the remaining seven fall under the following laws:

(a) If a relative word is to follow immediately, then οὗτος, when both it and its noun precede the relative, follows the noun:

Hell. iv. 4, 8 κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἐνθάπερ.

Hell. vii. 4, 11 τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἦν.

(b) If ὁ αὐτός is used, then οὗτος must not precede the article:

Hell. v. 2, 60 ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσί.

Hell. vii. 4, 11 ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖτοις.

(c) If one among several namesakes is to be distinguished from the others, οὗτος follows:

Hell. iii. 1, 10 ἡ Αἰολὶς αὕτη.

(d) When the article is not used, οὗτος, perhaps then a predicate, follows:

Hell. vii. 4, 34 ἐγκλημα τοῦτο.

These four laws are strictly observed by Thucydides. Take for (a) ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τοῦτον ἐνθα (iv. 42). If iii. 17 is interpolated, the interpolator was not to be caught napping, for he started off with κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὄν. The only apparent exceptions are Thuc. i. 43 τοῦτον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ, where τοῦτον is predicative; iv. 78 ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ, for which see rule i.; and ii. 102 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ γῇ ᾗτις, where ταύτῃ has to be strongly emphasised. (b), (c) and (d) do not need illustration.

Let us now turn to the rarer ὅδε. The *Paraleipomena* furnish but seven examples; of these six are in speeches: *before*, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον ὅς (i. 7, 22), τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν (ii. 3, 25), τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ (ii. 3, 39), οἷδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες (ii. 3, 51), and ὅδε ὁ βωμός (ii. 3, 53); *after*, τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε (ii. 3, 42). The other is a case of ὅδε meaning 'to this effect,' τὴν γνώμην . . . τήνδε (i. 7, 9). All the examples occur in speeches. The only case that calls for special notice is the first, in which τόνδε stands in emphatic contrast with a preceding τοῦτο—κατὰ τοῦτο πὺ ψήφισμα. The remaining books of the *Hellenica* give four examples only, in all of which ὅδε precedes the article. Two are in speeches—τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (v. 2, 25) and τήνδε τὴν πόλιν (vi. 5, 45): one is ὅδε ὁ λόγος,

'this work of mine'; and in the other, τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον (vi. 5, 2), τόνδε is 'the following.'

Excluding quotations like ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα . . . μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει, Thucydides uses ὅδε before a noun, other than πόλεμος, eight times. Four cases occur in speeches; viz. τῇδε τῇ πόλει (i. 144), τῇδε τῇ πόλει (ii. 64), τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου (iv. 10), and ἦδ' ἡ ἄνοια (vi. 16). In two ὅδε = 'the following,' τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους (ii. 54) and τάδε τὰ ἔπη (iii. 104), the latter followed closely by τοῖς ἔπεισι τοῖσδε. The only two cases in narrative are ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ (i. 94) and τήνδε τὴν στρατείαν (ii. 68).

Of ὅδε following a noun, other than πόλεμος, Dr. Grundy enumerates twenty-eight examples from Thucydides. Seven have to be added to his list: Κερυκαίων τῶνδε (i. 37), Κερκυραίων τούσδε (i. 43), ἡμᾶς τούσδε (i. 53), τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε (iii. 63), δικαίωματάδε (i. 41), ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷδε (vii. 63), ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τόνδε (viii. 13).

Thus, for the position of ὅδε we get these figures:

	ὅδε before.	ὅδε after.
Thuc. - -	eight.	thirty-five.
<i>Hellenica</i> i.-ii. -	five.	one.
„ iii.-vii. -	four.	none.

These figures are analogous to those for οὗτος. And, what is of greater moment, the laws (a), (b) and (d) hold good for ὅδε as for οὗτος. Thus, for (a) the examples are Thuc. i. 68; ii. 74; iv. 85; vi. 12: for (b) Thuc. vii. 63; viii. 13; viii. 99: for (d) there are several examples, as i. 37 and 41, and no exceptions. Law (c) does not apply to ὅδε, which is not used in the case. *Hell.* i. 7, 22 κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον ὅς is an apparent exception to (a): it is the only one, and, as I have said, it is due to a strong contrast between ὅδε and οὗτος.

Now what about ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος and ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε in Thucydides? The former occurs fifteen, the latter twenty-one times. One only of the four laws can be tested: there are ten examples of ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε ὄν, and none of ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος ὄν. About the remaining twenty-six examples I draw no conclusion but this: that the use of ὅδε with other nouns and the use of οὗτος lend no support to Herbst's theory that Thucydides consciously used ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος in one sense and ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε in another.

SOME NOTES.

ÆSCHYLUS, *Agamemnon*, ll. 1-7.

θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος ἣν κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,
ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγουριν
5 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βρότοις
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι,
ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν.

May we imagine that the Phulax is supposed to have discovered a kind of star-symbolism? To him, watching the 'starry host' of the nightly skies, the thought has perhaps suggested itself that the Greek army camped on the fields of Troy is symbolised in heaven, the bright princes, the great stars, being surrounded by their lesser companions. He has watched the rising and setting of these stars, and he has seen the rise and fall of many of the princely houses. 'Things are not well in Agamemnon's state—may the great star soon return.' Such would be the vague background of thought and feeling to this description of the stars. Cf. ll. 18-21:

κλαίω τότ' οἶκον τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων
οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένον—
νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων
εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.

In this, later passage the star of deliverance becomes identified with the fire-signal suddenly flaming out from the darkness of the night.

If the interpretation suggested is correct, l. 7, which is rejected by many commentators, is both necessary and finely expressed: how appropriate and dramatic is the sudden change of construction after ὅταν φθίνωσιν, indicating and expressing a sudden change of feeling—from a dark foreboding of evil to a kind of forced hopefulness, a desire to believe that the star-symbol with its prophecy of restoration may yet be justified. The rhythm of the line seems most expressive.

For the subtlety with which the thing symbolised is suggested rather than declared, cf. ll. 94-5,

λάμπας ἀνίσχει
φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ
μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις,

where the epithet 'ἀδόλοισι' certainly alludes to the guileful persuasions of the queen.

In the *Iliad*, the comparison of individual leaders of the Greek host to the greater stars is common: cf. *Il.* v. 4-6; vi. 401; xi. 62; xxii. 26-29. In *Il.* viii. 554 the Trojan camp with its many fires is compared to the starry sky.

Cf. also:

Hesperus that led the starry host.

MILTON, *P.L.* iv. 605.

Our bugles sang truce, for the night cloud had lowered

And sentinel stars set their watch in the sky.

CAMPBELL.

Kings are like stars—they rise and set—they have
The worship of the world, but no repose.

SHELLEY, *Hellas*.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies which cause good or evil times and which have much veneration but no rest. BACON, *Essay XX.* 'On Empire.'

This last extract (of which the passage from Shelley is obviously a reminiscence) may be compared more especially with line 5.

LUCAN, *Phars.* vii. 344-346:

. . . totas effundite vires;
extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentes
hora trahit . . .

Mr. Haskins translates 'trahit' by 'drags to ruin' and quotes a passage from Virg. (*Æn.* v. 709), 'quo fata trahunt retrahunt que sequamur,' which seems hardly relevant.

Pompey would not (whatever the forebodings of his own heart might be) in his speech to his troops say: 'one hour drags to ruin the peoples.' It cannot be pleaded that 'gentes' here means 'the foreign nations' of Caesar as opposed to the Roman people which Pompey claims to

represent: for, in ll. 360-2, Pompey states that he has 'gentes' on his own side:

. . . primo gentes oriente coactae
innumeraeque urbes, quantas in proelia nunquam
excituerunt manus. toto simul utimur orbe . . .

Ll. 233-4:

eripe victori gentes, et sanguine mundi
fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos,

have no relation to the present passage; for there the poet speaks with a knowledge of Pompey's doom, while here Pompey is supposed to be encouraging his troops for battle.

The general sense is clear. 'This is the fateful hour; the destiny of the world is now to be decided.' What is the precise meaning of 'trahit'?

The parallel from Virgil, suggested by Mr. Haskins, seems to afford a clue. Lucan has here, as it were, put 'una hora' in the place of 'fatum': that is to say, the one short hour is represented poetically as a kind of fate which will decide the destinies of the peoples. 'Trahit' then means simply 'draws on,' 'pernicious' and 'salus' being vaguely thought of as the two alternative goals. Because in many passages this vague sense 'draws on' acquires a sinister meaning by reason of its context, commentators seem to have been misled into the belief that in later Latin 'trahit' comes to mean definitely 'leads into destruction.' The English verb 'to involve' seems to be an interesting parallel. The context often gives this word the additional idea of ruin; e.g.

Involving all the contending parties in the same destruction.

BURKE, *A Vindication of Natural Society*.

and

One death involves
Tyrants and slaves.

THOMSON, *The Seasons*.

But even in the case of these passages, it would be incorrect to say that the verb 'to involve' in itself means 'to include in ruin.' The associations of a word and the suggestions it acquires in a particular context are not necessarily identical with its definite meaning.

Appended is a brief examination of those passages quoted by Mr. Haskins in his index

and notes, in which he claims that 'trahere' means definitely 'to drag to ruin.'

LUCAN, iv. 222:

trahimur sub nomine pacis.

Under the name of peace we are being deprived of control over ourselves—Caesar is becoming our master and is leading whithersoever he will. In the passage from Virgil—*Æn.* ii. 403, 'trahebatur . . . a templo'—quoted in the note, the verb is used in its simplest sense and may be translated 'was being dragged.'

LUCAN, iv. 738:

bellumque traherat | auctorem civile suum.

i.e. the horse had, as it were, thrown its rider to the ground and was dragging him after itself. Curio had lost control over the war he had started, and it was now his master.

OVID, *Met.* i. 190-1:

sed immedicabile vulnus
ense recidendum ne pars sincera trahatur.

i.e. lest the sound part be drawn within the circle of corruption.

LUCAN, vii. 46:

fatisque trahentibus orbem.

'the fates drawing the world to its doom.'
'Trahere' is here neutral.

LUCAN, vii. 346. The present passage.

LUCAN, vii. 654:

nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum
mersa iuvat gentesque suae miscere ruinae.

SIL. ITAL. viii. 335-337:

trahit omnia secum
et metuit demens alio ne consule Roma
concidat.

In both these passages 'trahere' means simply 'drag with him,' *i.e.* as he falls.

LUCAN, x. 427:

sed metuunt belli trepidos in nocte tumultus
ne caedes confusa manu permissaque fatis
te, Ptolemaee, trahat.

Here 'trahat' = 'draw or drag' to itself. The English word 'involve' gives the general meaning fairly adequately.

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CONJECTURES.

STATIUS, *Silvae*, ii. 1. 230. Can *ferē* here be a scribe's correction of *ere*, a relique of *Erebi*, the final syllable of which might easily be lost before the following *tu*? Statius elsewhere personifies *Erebus*, and the epithet *durus* is most appropriate to *Death*. Read

'Insontes animas nec portitor arcet
Nec *duri* comes ille *Erebi*:—tu pectora mulce,' etc.

The *comes* or attendant will still be Cerberus.

id. ib. ii. 6. 60 sqq. Read perhaps,—with transposition of a single letter, *curtassent* for *ructassent*,—

O quam *divitiis* censuque exutus *opimo*
Fortior, Urse, fores! si vel fumante ruina
Curtassent dites Vesuvina incendia Locros.

Markland's *Locri* (in the form *Locroe*, Buecheler) for *Locros* is usually accepted; but *ructare* does not appear to occur elsewhere in Statius, and the passage is full of monetary terms,—*divitiae*, *census*, *fidem negare*, *Fortuna redit*. It is a question of pounds, shillings and pence rather than of poetry. For *curtare* cf. Horace, *Satires*, ii. 3. 124, and Persius, vi. 34.

id. ib. iv. 5. 10. In view of ii. 3. 51, 'Phoebi frondes,' the expression 'Veris frondes' seems not impossible, or Markland's 'vernīs frondibus' may be right. But 'Annuae frondes' is certainly prosaic. Scribes occasionally confuse the letters *n* and *d* (N D), and frequently mistake *it* for *u*. Read

'Nunc cuncta Veris (*sive vernis*) frondibus *additis*
Crunitur arbos.'

Addere is a vox Horatiana,—frequent in Alcaics and common in Statius.

Statius, *Thebaid*, iv. 665. Is *solem* here a corruption of *fontem* (folē for fōtē)?—

'Isque ubi pulvereā Nemeen effervere nube
Conspicit et *fontem* radiis ignescere ferri.'

An allusion to the brook Nemea might supply that touch of poetry which Klotz, in the new Teubner edition, complains is lack-

ing in the emendations which he cites. The brook was a feature both of the valley and of the story (cf. Frazer's Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 88–94); and the glint of armour on the water would readily arrest attention. 'Through the bottom of the valley . . . meanders like a thread the brook Nemea, fed by the numerous rills which descend from the neighbouring hills' (op. cit. p. 89). 'But when Adrastus and the rest of the seven champions were marching . . . against Thebes, it chanced that they passed through the vale of Nemea, and being athirst and meeting the nurse with the child, they begged of her water to drink. So she led them to a spring of water which bubbled up beside a thick bed of celery,' etc. (ib. p. 92). It was by this spring that Opheltes was killed.

Klotz removes the obelus from the passage; but as it stands it must surely be corrupt. My suggestion, *frondem*, which he quotes, was prompted less by Koestlin's *silvam* than by *Silvae*, i. 3. 6, 'Nemeae *frondentis* alumnus.'

Plato, *Republic*, 365 E. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ τε καὶ ἐπιμελοῦνται (sc. θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων), οὐκ ἄλλοθεν τοὶ αὐτοὺς ἴσμεν ἢ ἀκηκόαμεν ἢ ἐκ τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γενεαλογησάντων ποιητῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ τοὶ λέγουσιν κ.τ.λ. For the difficulties of τῶν λόγων see translations and commentaries. Prof. Burnet (*C.R.* xix. 101^b) proposes τῶν νόμων (from F) and would explain the corruption as arising from the use of a compendium in the original MS. A simpler solution would be to read λογ<ί>ων (ΛΟΓΙΩΝ for ΛΟΓΩΝ). The λόγιος,—associated with the αἰδώς by Pindar (*Pyth.* i. 94) as is the λογογράφος with the ποιητής by Thucydides (i. 21),—would in this context be either the early prose-chronicler, or better perhaps the depositary of theological tradition, as in Herodotus (ii. 4), who applies the word to the priests at Heliopolis, whom he consulted as the chief authorities on the gods of Egypt—οἱ γὰρ Ἑλισπολίται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι.

Catullus, lxiv. 241-245.

At pater, ut summa prospectum ex arce petebat,
Anxia in assiduos absumens lumina fletus,
Cum primum *inflati* conspexit lineae veli,
Praecipitem sese scopulorum e vertice iecit,
Amisum credens immiti Thesea fato.

For *inflati* the Itali conjectured *infecti* (from 225), a conjecture which some editors (e.g. Haupt and Baehrens) receive into the text. If, as seems more than possible, the word is corrupt, read rather

cum primum *falsi* conspexit lineae veli

from Statius, who twice alludes to the fate of Aegeus, in lines apparently derived from these, and who on both occasions applies this same epithet (*falsus*) to the sail which was the cause of the catastrophe. See *Thebaid*, xii. 626, and *Silvae*, iii. 3. 180. *Inflati* is certainly otiose, and may have come in from the influence of *flamine* in line 239. *Falsi* would give point to *credens* below.

Ovid, *Metam.* x. 637. Read perhaps

Dixerat : utque rudis primoque cupidine tacta,
Quid *sciat*, ignorans, amat et non sentit amorem.

Sciat for *facit* (codd. omnes et Plan.) is a very slight alteration, and the double oxy-moron thus obtained seems to be sufficiently rhetorical and effective. As against Ehwald's theory, *ad loc.*—i.e. that 'Quid facit' represents 'Quid facio?' (question), whereas 'Quid faciat' would represent 'Quid faciam?' (deliberation),—cf. i. 643; vii. 679, Unde sit, ignoro; ix. 526, Quid velit, ignorans; xi. 719; and perhaps also *Heroides*, i. 71, Quid timeam, ignoro. Timeo tamen omnia. Merkel puts the ordinary view of the MS. reading in a nutshell when he describes it as—'manifestus, quantum puto, barbarismus et sine exemplo.'

Statius, *Silvae*, iii. 5. 281 sqq.

Umbramque senilem
Invitet ripis discussa plebe supremus
Vector et in media componat molliter *alga*.

Here, if the text be sound, we must, I take it, accept Stephens' explanation ('*Alga* cymbam substernat, qua reponat se molliter pater traiciens') in preference to Markland's view that *alga* represents the bank or shore (cf. e.g. Val. Flacc. i. 252, Molli iuvenes

funduntur in *alga*); for *componat* can hardly bear the meaning of '*trans fluvium incolumes . . . exponit*' in the lines from the Sixth Aeneid (415-16), of which these are an echo. Perhaps, however, we ought rather to read 'in media componat molliter *alno*,' and compare Juvenal, iii. 265-6,

'Taetrumque novicius horret

Porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis *alnum*';

and *Thebaid*, iv. 479,¹

Plena redeat Styga portitor alno.

Virgil, *G.* i. 318-321.

. . . Omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi;
Quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
Sublimem expulsam eruerent : ita turbine nigro
Ferret hiemps culmumque levem stipulasque
volantes.

The difficulties of sense and construction which to some editors and readers this passage presents (see Conington, *ad loc.*) would vanish if we could regard *ferret* as a corruption of *verrit*. No variants appear to be reported from the MSS., and the tradition is so good that to propose any emendation would seem hazardous. But it is noteworthy that in the passage of Lucretius (i. 271 sqq.) which Virgil had in mind—so Conington suggests—when he wrote this description, the word (*verrere*) occurs in the sense required :

'Nubila caeli

Verrunt ac subito vexantia turbine raptant.'

The time is Autumn (316), and hiemps seems therefore to be best understood of a winter storm. Make the one slight change involved by the substitution of *verrit* for *ferret* and give this meaning to hiemps; then all semblance of difficulty disappears, and Conington's translation of the passage will run : 'I have seen all the armies of the winds meet in the shock of battle, tearing up by the roots whole acres of heavy corn, and whirling it on high, just as a' winter storm sweeps 'down its dark current light straw and flying stubble.'

D. A. SLATER.

¹ The bold accusative (Styga) in this passage,—which the Oxford editor is inclined to emend,—is probably to be explained as modelled on the Virgilian '*Itque reditque viam*' (*Aen.* vi. 122), just as the '*eadem dea turbida*' of *Thebaid*, ii. 208, at which so many critics ride a tilt, is a mere reminiscence of Virgil's '*Eadem impia Fama*' (*Aen.* iv. 298). Statius is full of such reminiscences as these.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* 440 B.

οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλοθι, ἔφη, πολλοῦ αἰσθανόμεθα, ὅταν βιάσωνται τινα παρὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπιθυμίαι, λοιδοροῦντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ θυμούμενον τῷ βιαζομένῳ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὥσπερ δυοῖν στασιαζόντων ξύμμαχον τῷ λόγῳ γιγνόμενον τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ τοιούτου; ταῖς δ' ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτὸν κοινωνήσαντα, αἰρουῖντος λόγου μὴ δεῖν ἀντιπράττειν, οἶμαί σε οὐκ ἂν φάναι γενομένου ποτὲ ἐν σαυτῷ τοῦ τοιούτου αἰσθῆσθαι, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ. The sense is: 'We often perceive θυμός allying itself with and fighting for λόγος against the ἐπιθυμία, when these forcibly oppose λόγος. You never perceive, through such a thing having occurred in yourself or another, θυμός making common cause with the ἐπιθυμία, when reason decides that it (θυμός) ought to oppose them.'

Adam, p. 271, says Richter 'evades the anacoluthon by defending the more than dubious construction αἰσθῆσθαι αὐτὸν κοινωνήσαντα'; but it is scarcely 'dubious' here, for the participial acc. after αἰσθάνεσθαι (not rare or unnatural *per se*) is employed in the first part of this very sentence, and the balancing principle would lead one to expect it also in the last. What Adam probably dislikes is the order of words implied in Richter's translation, but the order so implied is justified by the additional force it gives to the expression of the thought. There is no real difficulty in Richter's construction, and there is no anacoluthon in the sentence. γενομένου . . . τοιούτου is, like αἰρουῖντος above, gen. absolute, not gen. after αἰσθῆσθαι, which governs αὐτὸν κοινωνήσαντα.

The real difficulty lies in the clause αἰρουῖντος . . . ἀντιπράττειν. None of the suggestions mentioned in Adam's note or appendix seems to get rid of this. Schneider's interpretation implies αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ λόγῳ) after ἀντιπράττειν, but one would naturally expect αὐταῖς (sc. ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις). Instead of making common cause with the ἐπιθυμίαι, 'θυμός should oppose them.' This, and not that 'θυμός should not oppose reason itself,' was to have been expected. The vice of Schneider's explanation would be plainer if we supposed αὐτῷ actually given in the text; for this might as well—indeed it would more naturally—refer to θυμός, which would destroy the sense.

Two ways out of the difficulty seem open, or at least conceivable. If μὴ were not in the clause at all, there would be no question about the construction or the meaning. Can it have been a correction for οὐ, the latter having been dittographic at some early period after λόγον? This is one way. The other is to suppose that ἀλλ' was lost after δεῖν, also of course at a very early period. The sense would then be 'when reason decides that it (θυμός) should not (sc. κοινωνεῖν), but should oppose.' A tradition of some strange disturbance in this very part of the text seems proved by the reading of *q* ἂν τι πρᾶττειν for ἀντιπράττειν. The original may have been ΔΕΙΝΑΛΛΑΝΤΙΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ.

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THE ADVERBS ΟΥΧΙ AND ΝΑΙΧΙ IN GREEK.

IN modern Greek, especially in popular speech, it is considered poor form to reply curtly in short words such as ναι, yes (which still fully survives from ancient times) and ὄχι *no* (from ancient οὐχι), corresponding to ancient οὐ: the form ὄχι made its appearance in Roman antiquity,

as *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xvi. 9 (no. 9, 2, 10): 'τὴν οὖν ἀπόφασιν ὀρώμεν αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ ἡλίου) ἀλλ' ὄχι αὐτόν.' This ὄχι then, for the sake of politeness (not of emphasis!) is often amplified to ὄχι κα (i.e. ὄχι καλέ), ὄχεσκε, ὄγεσκε (whence οὔσκε ὄσκε). In the same way and for the same reason ναι is

amplified to the polite form *ναίσκε*. The question now suggesting itself is what is the relation of ancient *οὐχι* and *ναίχι* to their modern Greek progenies *οὔχι* and *ναίσκε*?

Ever since composing my *Historical Greek Grammar* (published in 1897, London), I have entertained doubts as to the correct accentuation of the negation *οὐχι*. True, I had learned at school that the negation *οὐχι* was oxytone: *οὐχί*, while its corresponding affirmation was a paroxytone: *ναίχι*. Subsequently I found that this doctrine rests on tradition, as handed down by such Byzantine grammarians or scribes as Schol. Dion. Thr. 432, 13 (ed. Hilgard): *ἐνταῦθα (ναίχι) μὲν βαρύνεται, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρνήσει (οὐχί) ὀξύνεται Ἀττικῇ (?) συνηθείᾳ*. So Et. M. 315, 21. 607, 20; then again Schol. Dion. Thr. 60, 25: *τὸ οὐχὶ ἐπέκτασις μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς οὐ . . . ὀξύνεται δὲ καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀποβολὴν πάσχει*. *Ib.* 31: *ναίχι· τοῦτο οὐκ ὀξύνεται ὡς τὸ οὐχί, εἰ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει ἐπέκτασιν*. 563, 14: *ἐπέκτασις μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ οὐχὶ τοῦ οὐ*.

This *-ί* must not be confused with the demonstrative *-ί* (*οὐτοσί* etc.). In the adverbs *οὐχι* and *ναίχι*, the suffix *-ι* (*-κι*, *-χι*) merely amplifies, without intensifying, the words admitting it. To the passages already quoted above, add: Schol. Dion. Thr. 432 11: *ναί, ναίχι· τοῦτο παραγωγὴν ὑπομένει διὰ τῆς χι συλλαβῆς οὐδὲν πλέον σημαίνει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ οὐχί ἀρνήσις οὐδὲν πλέον τῆς οὐ σημαίνει*. 60, 31: *ναίχι· τοῦτο οὐκ ὀξύνεται ὡς τὸ οὐχί, εἰ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει ἐπέκτασιν*. 443, 23: *τὸ μὲν οὐχί ἐπεκτέταται ὡς καὶ τὸ ναίχι*.—So far, then, our testimony for the accentuation of *οὐχι* and *ναίχι* being very late and unauthoritative, the question arises: If we say *οὐχί* (in Homer *οὐκί*), why should we not also say *ναίχι*? or if we are correct in saying *ναίχι*, why should we not be correct in saying *οὔχι*? for there is hardly

any doubt that as *οὐ* (*οὐκ*, *οὔχι*) was amplified to *οὐκι* or *οὔχι*, so was *ναί* amplified to *ναίχι*. Now regarding the correct accentuation of *οὔχι*, we have the confession of Schol. Dion. Thr. 563, 15 f. that *τὸ οὔχι οὐκ ἀνάλογον κατὰ τὸν τόνον· ἔδει γὰρ βαρύνεσθαι ὡς καὶ τὸ ναίχι*, which means that the accentuation of *οὔχι* is abnormal while that of *ναίχι* is regular. This remark is also confirmed by a closer examination. For the *βαρυντόνησις* of *ναίχι* we have a threefold proof: (1) Tradition; (2) the accentuation of its modern Greek progeny *οὔχι*, which, as already remarked, goes farther back than the testimony to the contrary (*οὔχι*) of the Byzantine scribes; (3) the unmistakable epigram of Kallimachos—

Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός· ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο σαφῶς ἡχώ φησί τις ἄλλος ἔχει,
where to the paroxytone *ναίχι* the echo responds by the equally paroxytone *ἔχει*, i.e. *néchi-échi*.

On the other hand the oxytonesis of *οὔχι* is open to grave doubts, for (1) it is declared *irrational* by the grammarians themselves: *τὸ οὔχι οὐκ ἀνάλογον κατὰ τὸν τόνον· ἔδει γὰρ βαρύνεσθαι (i.e. οὔχι) ὡς καὶ τὸ ναίχι* (Schol. Dion. Thr. 563, 14 f.); (2) its suffixal *-ι* (*-κι*, *-χι*) is not intensive; (3) its parallel prohibitive *μήχι* (in Liddell and Scott misaccented *μηχί*) is paroxytone: Bekk. An. i. 108, 14: *μήχι ὡς ναίχι καὶ οὔχι (οὔχι?) ὡς Εὐβουλος Δαιδάλω*. (4) Its modern Greek progeny, current ever since Graeco-Roman times, is a paroxytone *οὔχι*. I confess that the above considerations have shaken my belief in the accentuation *οὔχι*, and should propose to restore *οὔχι*.

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Canca, Crete.

HORACE, *C. iv. 2. 49.*

Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
Vocis accedet bona pars et 'O Sol
Pulcher! O laudande!' canam, recepto

Caesare felix;

Terque, dum procedit, io Triumphe, . . . 49
Non semel dicemus, io Triumphe,
Civitas omnis, dabimusque divis
Tura benignis.

Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus, etc.

DR. VOLLMER in the Teubner text (1907) prints at line 49 the reading of BC (*teque dum procedit*) with an obelus against it,—ignoring the '*tuque dum procedis*' of the *codd. deter.* and mentioning no emendation but his own somewhat infelicitous 'opinio,'—'*tensa dum procedit.*' Dr. Gow, in the *New Corpus*, suggests *ioque* for *teque*. But even the best friends of this suggestion will admit that it is by no means convincing.

It may, therefore, be worth while to draw attention to some fresh points in support of the above conjecture, which I sent to this *Review* two years ago, only to find that it had already been proposed independently by Mr. A. F. Howard (*C.R.* ix. 110) in 1895 and by Pauly in 1855. Pauly (Dr. Gow informs me) did no more than suggest the reading in the *app. crit.* of his edition, and with a painful and unnecessary elision—'*terque dum hic procedit.*' But neither Bentley's *isque* nor Pauly's *hic* is really needed with *Caesare* staring us in the face from line 48.

Now, palaeographically, *terque* accounts for the variants *teque* of the better and *tuque* of the baser MSS.; for, e.g., in Statius' *Silvae* (a) at i. 4. 13 *nosterque* is corrupted into *nostequē* and (b) at iii. 5. 28 *tu* is corrupted into *ter*, in the *Codex Matritensis*.

The argument that '*Non semel* is too far away; to have any force it should be close to *ter*' seems to be met by a comparison with such a passage as Virgil's (*G. i.* 410–11)

Tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces
Aut quater ingeminant.

But the point is hardly susceptible of proof. It is a matter of taste. 'Whether the *non semel* is an objection I am not quite sure,

but it is not a fatal one,' writes Dr. Conway, who thinks *ter* 'very probable indeed and far better than *te*.' Some allowance, too, must be made for the exigencies of metre—a difficult metre—in what is after all by no means one of Horace's most finished performances.

What seems to me, however, to tell decisively in favour of an emendation which, apart from palaeographical and literary qualities, certainly does—by the addition of a single letter—entirely remove all the difficulties of pronouns and persons, that beset the traditional reading, is the fact that the word *ter* is not only a 'vox Horatiana' but, in a context like this, almost a 'vox necessaria.' A triumph was a religious ceremony: and, in religious contexts, as everybody knows, up and down Latin literature,—from the 'Enos, Lases, iuvate' (*ter*) of the *Carmen Arvale*¹ to the

Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram

of the *Odes*,—this lucky three,—a number bound up, as ²Mommsen points out, with so much of Roman ritual and organisation,—is constantly and inevitably recurring. The repetition of a verbal formula or a ceremonial act *three times* was thought to please both the deities above and the powers below, and was therefore scrupulously observed; e.g. ³at a wedding (*Catalecta*, iv. 9); ⁴at a funeral (Horace, *C. i.* 28. 36); ⁵on a birthday (Propertius, iii. 10. 4): ⁶at a sacrifice (Propertius, iv. 6. 6); ⁷at a harvest-festival (*V.*, *G. i.* 345); ⁸at an invocation

¹ 'Carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec: Enos' etc. (Wordsworth, *Fragm. and Specimens*, etc. pp. 158 and 391 sqq.). Cf. also tripodium.

² Book I. chapter 4, *init.*

³ Talassio, Talassio, Talassio.

⁴ Licebit

Iniecto *ter* pulvere curras.

⁵ Et manibus faustos *ter* crepuere sonos.

⁶ *Terque* focum circa laneus orbis eat.

⁷ *Terque* novas circum felix eat hostia messis.

⁸ *Ter* centum tonat ore deos. Cf. also Ovid, *Metamm.* vii. 189–190; 261; and Horace, *C. iii.* 22. 3. *Ter* vocata audis.

(V., *Aen.* iv. 510); ¹ in the performance of a charm (Tibullus, i. 2. 54, and Horace, *Sat.* ii. 1. 7). And if on all these occasions, much more at a triumph would the time-honoured rule of three be in force: for a triumph was a great provoker of Nemesis. The phrase 'io Triumphē' is, no doubt, interjectional; here, however, it is not merely the 'three cheers' of a modern ovation, but also a potent charm against the evil eye.² The same motive that prompted the soldiers to sing their Fescennine verses, led the people also to observe in their salute the number that religion (or superstition) enjoined.³ We may translate: 'And as the Emperor passes on his way, we the assembled people will greet him, every man of us, with the cry of *Triumph*, uttered not once alone but thrice' (τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον).⁴ The cry would be taken up—a fine effect—by fresh voices all along the route to the Capitol.

In the next stanza the Emperor has gone by and we return to Antonius with the

¹ *Ter* cane, *ter* dictis despue carminibus.

Ter uncti

Transnanto Tiberin, somno quibus est opus alto.

² Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, pp. 76 *sqq.*, edition I.

³ Cf. the ovation accorded to Maecenas on his recovery from a serious illness. Horace, *C.* ii. 17. 26. Cum populus frequens Laetum theatris *ter* crepuit sonum.

⁴ For the antithesis cf. Ennius, *Medea*. *Ter* sub armis malim vitam cernere quam *semel* modo | Parere (Eur. *Medea*, 250).

word which no doubt caused the MS. confusion, the outstanding *te*, which caught the scribe's eye too soon and led him to inflict quite unconsciously an outrage on Horace and a puzzle on his readers.

D. A. SLATER.

P.S.—Since this note was written, Dr. J. S. Reid has very kindly furnished me with a most interesting parallel from later Latin, which appears to lend even greater probability to the conjecture proposed. 'Triple repetitions,' he says, 'seem to occur in the well-known "acclamations,"⁵ more or less rhythmical and modulated sing-songs, with which the emperors were saluted by the senate. A good many of these are preserved in the *Historia Augusta*.' Here is an example from the *H.A.* vi. 13. 2 (Teubner text): 'Hanc eius clementiam senatus his acclamationibus prosecutus est: "Antonine pie, di te servent! Antonine clemens, di te servent! Antonine <patiens>, di te servent!"' Cf. also xviii. 7. 1. and xxviii. 12. 8. The triple salutation in senate may well have been a survival—in a conservative state—of a similar salutation at a triumph.

D. A. S.

⁵ It seems possible that the *acclamatio* preserved in the *Panegyricus* of Pliny, 71 § 4, should be read, as a similar triad, thus: Quod factum tuum a cuncto senatu quam vera acclamatione celebratum est: 'Tanto <maior, tanto hu>manior, tanto augustior'!

VARIA.

Lucretius, v. 1009–10.

illi imprudentes ipsi sibi saepe uenenum
uergebant, nudant sollertius ipsi.

nunc dant (multi). nurui nunc dant (Munro).
nunc dant aliis (Oxford text).

Read 'nunc dant sollertius id sine noxa.'

'Sine noxa' became 'siuenoxa,' and a careless scribe seeing '*uenoxa*' took it to be a repetition of '*uenenum*' and omitted it,

leaving 'idsi,' which would naturally become 'ipsi.'

Translate 'now more skilfully (*i.e.* having learnt its medicinal properties) they administer it without harm.' The sense would be the same as Munro's contemplated 'nunc dant sollertius arte medentes' (4th edition, ii. p. 334), while the reading is surely more palaeographically probable than any yet proposed.

Troades, 270.

ἔχει πότμος νιν, ὥστ' ἀπηλλάχθαι πόνων.

Talthybius is telling Hecuba about Polyxena: he had said:

εἶδαι μόνιζε παῖδα σήν· ἔχει καλῶς.

She eagerly cries:

τί τόδ' ἔλακες; ἄρά μοι ἀέλιον λεύσσει;

To which the above line is an answer. Hecuba not understanding him (see ll. 624-5) goes on to ask of Andromache.

As Prof. Murray has pointed out it is almost inconceivable that anyone should after Talthybius' explicit statement have failed to understand that Polyxena was dead.

Is it possible that the words ὥστ' ἀπηλ-

λάχθαι πόνων are a gloss? and that the line originally ran ἔχει πότμος νιν ἄπονος.

If so, we should have to conjecture the rest of the line.

I should suggest, if such a repetition is possible, ὡς ἔχει καλῶς.

For: (1) This might make Hecuba despair of learning anything definite about Polyxena, and so account for her passing on to inquire about Andromache.

(2) The words would easily fall out through being a repetition.

But the essential part of the emendation is exclusive of this and rests on dramatic suitability.

LEONARD BUTLER.

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APPIAN, *B.C.* ii. 74.

APPIAN relates that just before the battle of Pharsalia Caesar ordered the rampart of his camp to be dismantled and the ditch to be filled up (καθέλετέ μοι προιόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε); and Lucan (vii. 326-7) puts the same command into Caesar's mouth, but makes him add a reason which in itself would have been sound enough,

*sternite iam uallum fossasque implete ruina,
exeat ut plenīs acies non sparsa maniplīs.*

The fable has of course been rejected; but while Mr. Perrin (*American Journal of Philology*, v. 1884, p. 325), who supposes that Appian copied Lucan, regards it as a mere invention, Stoffel (*Guerre civile*, ii. 248) conjectures that it was based upon fact. 'Afin,' he writes, 'que les troupes pussent sortir plus vite, il fit sans aucun doute élargir les portes et pratiquer des coupures dans le parapet. Bien entendu que les cohortes laissées à la garde du camp eurent à le remettre en état de défense aussitôt après le départ de l'armée. Tel est probablement le fait que Lucain aura transformé poétiquement en une destruction du camp et qui aura été accepté ensuite comme une vérité par Appien.' Professor

Postgate, in his edition of Lucan's Seventh Book (p. xxvi, n. 1), remarks that 'Against this view Mr. Perrin's observation (l.c. p. 326) that "it would have taken more time to demolish the walls of a Roman camp than for its occupants to march out of the ordinary gates and form in order of battle outside," has weight.' But Mr. Perrin was replying not to Stoffel, but to Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, ii. 1850, p. 293), who accepted Appian's statement as literally true; and although what he says is undeniable, it would have taken but a very short time to do what Stoffel suggests was done. 'But,' continues Professor Postgate, 'it is clear from Caesar's words [*B.C.* iii. 85, § 4] "cum iam esset agmen in portis," that the arrangements for marching out had already been made.' Certainly; but those arrangements were for an ordinary march, not for a march against an enemy. Has not my friend overlooked one word in Caesar's narrative,—*expeditas* (copias educit)? The significance of this word is clear. Caesar had determined to quit his camp altogether and march from place to place (*ib.* § 2). The troops, who had already struck their tents when he learned unexpectedly that Pompey was preparing to fight, were of course carrying their

packs (*sarcinae*). With these encumbrances they could not go into action. By the single word *expeditas* Caesar gives us to understand that the packs were laid aside and collected (cf. *B.G.* i. 24, § 3). To deposit 22,000 packs, besides those of the auxiliaries, in an orderly manner was not the work of a moment. While it was going on the available hands would have had plenty of time to enlarge the exits in the manner which Stoffel describes. Mr. Perrin indeed (*op. cit.* p. 326) argues that 'there was nothing for Caesar to gain by breaking a passage out of his camp;' but I would ask whether there was not time to gain, and whether, when

soldiers are full of stomach for a fight, it is not wise to send them into action with the least possible delay while their blood is up.

It is to me inconceivable that either Lucan or Appian should have simply invented the absurd order which they attributed to Caesar, but quite intelligible that they should have misunderstood the rational order which I have no doubt that he really gave, and the object of which Lucan states with perfect clearness. Indeed it is not incredible that Lucan understood the nature of the order, though, as a poet, he expressed it with rhetorical exaggeration.

T. RICE HOLMES.

PHRIXUS AND DEMODICE.

A NOTE ON PINDAR, *Pyth.* IV. 162 f.

τῷ ποτ' ἐκ·πόντου σάωθῃ
ἐκ τε μητρὸς ἀθέων βελέων.

It appears to me that this passage, so far from having been adequately explained, has not received from editors the attention which it deserves; the reason is, I suppose, that they have not sufficiently borne in mind the details of the story to which it refers.

The translation 'whereby of old he was delivered from the deep and from the impious weapons of his stepmother' (E. Myers) is so simple that it fails to awaken suspicion: none of the moderns except Dissen, so far as I know, has thought it worth while to enquire with what weapons Phrixus was attacked by his stepmother. And Dissen's explanation ('*id agenti nouerca ut telis periret*') is entirely unsupported by tradition. Mezger thinks it enough to say that Ino was the name of the stepmother, and Gildersleeve speaks of the 'common form of the familiar legend.' Similarly Christ:—'*de Phrixo insidias nouercae fugiente et in dorso arietis per mare uehente omnia nota.*'

Like most of the famous stories of the heroic age, the tale of Athamas and his children appears in many shapes; but I presume that the version which Gildersleeve

had in his mind was that given by Apollodorus (i. 80) and followed apparently by Euripides in his *Phrixus*. It may be as well briefly to recapitulate the facts. Athamas had two children by Nephele, Phrixus and Helle. Subsequently he married Ino, who bore to him Learchus and Melicertes. Ino was jealous of the children of Nephele, and plotted to destroy them. She persuaded the women to roast the wheat, which they contrived to accomplish without the knowledge of their husbands; and when the roasted seeds did not come up in the following season, Athamas sent to Delphi to enquire how the dearth might be stayed. Ino then persuaded the messengers to declare that the oracle had enjoined the sacrifice of Phrixus in order to revive the fruitfulness of the soil. Athamas, yielding to the pressure of his starving people, led Phrixus to the altar; but at the critical moment Nephele intervened to rescue her children, having received from Hermes the ram with the golden fleece, which, soaring in the air with Phrixus and Helle on its back, carried them far away across the sea. The summary will serve to show how ill-suited is the language of Pindar to describe such a situation. Contrast the allusions of Apollonius Rhodius to the same incident:

3. 191 ὁ δὲ καὶ ποτ' ἀμύμονα Φρίξον ἔδεκτο μητρυνίης φεύγοντα δόλον πατρός τε θηλᾶς, 2. 1181 ὡς μὲν γὰρ πατέρ' ἕμδν ὑπεξείρυστο φόνοιο μητρυνίης. The scholiast was sensible of the difficulty, for at the end of his note—which will presently require a more particular notice—he says: τὸ δὲ ἀθῶν βελέων ἀλληγορικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ βουλευμάτων ἢ λόγων ἢ πραξέων. But his method of exegesis will hardly find favour at the present time. After all this, it is curious to find that the clue to the true solution has all the time been lying unnoticed in the scholia, although the words are quoted by Christ and referred to by others. ἐκακώθη γὰρ διὰ τὴν μητρυνίαν ἐρασθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη ὥστε φυγεῖν. ταύτην δὲ ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος ἐν ὕμνοις Δημодίκην φησίν, Ἰππίας δὲ Γοργῶπιν, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀθάμαντι Νεφέλην, Φερεκύδης Θεμιστώ κ.τ.λ. This introduces us to an entirely different story, of a type which is already familiar from the legends of Hippolytus and Bellerophon. A variant according to which Demodice was the wife of Cretheus, the brother of Athamas, is given by Hygin. *poet. astr.* ii. 20 *Crethea autem habuisse Demodicen uxorem, quam alii Biadicen dixerunt. . . . Hanc autem Phrix, Athamantis filii, corpore inductam in amorem incidisse: neque ab eo, ut sibi copiam faceret, impetrare potuisse: itaque necessario coactam criminari eum ad Crethea coepisse, quod diceret, ab eo vim sibi paene adlatam, et horum similia mulierum consuetudine dixisse. Quo facto Crethea, ut uxoris amantem et regem decebat, permotum ut de eo supplicium sumeret persuasisse. Nubem autem intervenisse et ereptum Phrixum* etc. The coincidence of name confirms the statement of the scholiast that this is the story to which Pindar alludes, and there is no reason why we should seek to discredit the evidence. It is true that Ribbeck (*Röm. Trag.* p. 526) treats the story of Demodice as a later invention, unmistakably copied from the Hippolytus-myth; but the assumption is purely arbitrary.

It becomes pertinent to enquire whether, from this point of view, we can discover the appositeness of the expression ἀθῶν βελέων. Now, it is a commonplace of Greek poetry that the power of Love resides in the eyes, and that the passionate glances of lovers are

the medium through which their hearts are moved. Hence the significance of Aesch. *Ag.* 427 f. ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχρῆναις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα, which has been illustrated by Empedocles, fr. 86 ἐξ ὧν ὀμματ' ἐπηξεν ἀτεῖρεα δὲ Ἀφροδίτη. Hesych. 3, p. 203 ὀμματίους πόθος (Soph. fr. 733) διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρᾶν ἀλίσκεσθαι ἔρωτι. 'ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἐσορᾶν γίνεται ἀνθρώποις ἔρᾶν.' Xenophon *Ephes.* i. 3 ὅλοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ Ἀβροκόμου κάλλος εἰσρέον δεχομένη. The flashing eye is a love-charm which, like lightning, sets on fire everything with which it comes into contact: Soph. fr. 433 τοίαν Πέλοψ ἔνγγα θηρατηρίαν ἔρωτος, ἀστραπὴν τιν' ὀμμάτων, ἔχει ἢ θάλλεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμέ. With this may be compared Pind. fr. 123 Sch. τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὅσων μαρμαρυζοῖσας δρακεῖς ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκεται κ.τ.λ., Heliod. 8. 5 μεγάλην εἰς πειθὸν κέκτῃται πρὸς ἄνδρας ἔνγγα τὰ γυναικεῖα καὶ σύννοικα βλέμματα, Achill. Tat. i. 4 καταστράπτει μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ. Similarly Aesch. *Prom.* 933, Soph. *Ant.* 795; and see especially Plut. *quaest. conv.* v. 7. 2, p. 681 B.C., a passage too long to quote. Most commonly, however, the shaft of light which kindles desire is conceived as a weapon which inflicts a wound upon the victim: Aesch. *Prom.* 676 Ζεὺς γὰρ ἱμέρου βέλεει πρὸς σοῦ τέθαλλται, *Suppl.* 1003 καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἐπὶ πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὀμματος θελκτήριον τόξευμ' ἐπεμψεν ἱμέρου νικῶμενος, *Ag.* 741 μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος, δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος, Soph. fr. 161 ὀμμάτων ἀπο λόγχαυς ἵησιν, Aesch. fr. 242 βλέμμάτων ῥέπει βολή (the text is corrupt, but this much seems certain), Xenophon *Ephes.* i. 9 φιλοῦσα δ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὦ, φησί, πολλάκις με λυπήσαντες ὑμεῖς, ὦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνθέντες τῇ ἐμῇ κέντρον ψυχῇ. The notion of the love-charm is combined with that of the arrow in Lycophr. 309 (Troilus and Achilles) ἄγριον δράκοντα πυρφόρῳ βαλὼν ἔνγγι τόξων. The figure of the love-wound is elaborated by Achill. Tat. i. 4 κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ, ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῷ τραύματι. The wound is there described as a sting: Soph. fr. 757 ὅτφ δ' ἔρωτος δῆγμα παιδινοῦ προσῆν, Longus, *pasz.* i. 17 ὥσπερ οὐ φιληθεῖς

ἀλλὰ δηχθεῖς, Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 102. The metaphor is also applied to the piteous appeal of Iphigenia's eyes as she is led to the altar: Aesch. *Ag.* 250 ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτήρων ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει φιλοίκτω. The same tendency may be illustrated by Achill. Tat. 2. 29 (cf. 6. 10), where the emotions of shame, grief and anger are fancifully attributed to the injuries inflicted upon the soul by the weapons of speech: λόγος δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων πατήρ, καὶ ἔοικεν ἐπὶ σκοπῷ τόξον βάλλειν καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πέμπειν τὰ βλήματα καὶ ποικίλα τοξέυματα. τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λοιδορία βέλος, καὶ γίνεται τὸ ἔλκος ὀργή· τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος

ἀτυχημάτων· ἐκ τοῦτου τοῦ βέλους λύπη γίνεται· τὸ δ' ὄνειδος ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ καλοῦσιν αἰδῶ τὸ τραῦμα. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1163 f. Is not this evidence sufficient to prove that the 'impious shafts' from which Phrixus was rescued were the seductive glances of Demodice?

It should be added that the earliest mention in literature of the bow and arrows in connexion with the god of Love appears to be in Eur. *Hipp.* 530 ff.: see also *I.A.* 548. The permanence of the attribute in later times may perhaps be ascribed to the familiarity of the metaphor.

A. C. PEARSON.

NOTES

NOTE ON *ANTIGONE* 1216-1218.

ἀθρήσαθ', ἄρμον χῶματος λιθοσπαδῇ
δύντες πρὸς αὐτὸ στόμιον εἰ τὸν Αἴμονος
φθόγγον συνήμ' ἢ θεοῖσι κλέπτομαι.

THESE lines were rendered by the late Professor Jebb 'and when ye have reached the tomb pass through the gap, where the stones have been wrenched away, to the cell's very mouth, and look and see if 'tis Haemon's voice that I know, or if mine ear is cheated by the gods.'

Professor Beare in *Hermathena*, 1904, pertinently asks 'can ἄρμος mean gap?' He suggests that ἄρμος λιθοσπαδῆς is the substructure of the χῶμα, and renders 'passing through the rock-built fabric (or substructure) of the χῶμα inwards to the very στόμιον,' remarking that 'the great mound at New Grange sufficiently illustrates the meaning of χῶμα here in its general features.' Professor Beare has certainly put us on the right scent. His happy suggestion of New Grange solves the difficulty. For right in front of the entrance to the souterrain of rough stones under the tumulus there lies a huge stone covered over with spiral shaped designs, which may be said to lie at the very mouth, στόμιον, and which may be described as ἄρμος λιθοσπαδῆς. ἄρμος seems to mean a

'filling' of some sort and not a 'gap' as Professor Jebb renders it. The cognate words ἄρμόςω, ἄρμοσις, ἄρμωμα, etc., do not carry that sense. If this be correct, ἄρμος λιθοσπαδῆς would be a stone dragged against the opening of the chamber, the Greeks speaking of 'a stone of dragging' where the Hebrews would speak of 'a stone of rolling' (לִּבְנֵי אֶבֶן, Ezra v. 8), cf. Mk. xv. 44 προσεκύλισε λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. It would be easier to roll such a stone away than to make a gap in the wall of the tomb.

One might also suggest the removal of the comma after ἀθρήσαθ' and translate after *Iliad* xii. 391, βλήμενον ἀθρήσειε, observe his downfall. But what of δύντες. Prof. Beare says he has found no passage in which the object accusative (with or without a preposition) is a mere *passage*. Is it not possible that the tomb of Antigone was below the level of the ground? It is κατασκευῆς or excavated. To approach it one would literally have to 'go down.' The poet might, therefore, have used this word with a grim allusion to another descent of which Homer writes (e.g. γαῖαν δύναι, δόμον Ἀΐδος εἶσω δύναι, εἰς Ἀΐδαο δύσασθαι). The entrance might also be beneath a low-pillared portico (παστάδα, 1203), and the word would thus be appropriately used of those bending low in order to

examine 'the stony entrance of this sepulchre.' In the context Creon is hastening to the tomb from which strange voices have been heard. He does not yet know that any forcible entrance has been made into the death chamber, but he sends forward his servants hurriedly, bidding them 'mark well the great stone shutter of the tomb, descending to its very jaws, and see if 'tis the voice of Haemon that I hear or if the gods do play me false.'

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

DEMOSTHENES, *Meidias*, § 158.

διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς σοφεί, κυμβία καὶ ῥυτὰ καὶ φιάλας ὀνομάζων οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς παριόντας ἀκούειν.

There is little point in this instance of *Meidias*' proudness of purse if ὀνομάζων simply means 'naming.' It must mean 'having booked to him,' 'saying, "put that down to my account."'

See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, English Translation, p. 146, who quotes *C.I.G.* ii. No. 2693 e, 'γενομένης δὲ τῆς ὥνης τῶν προγεγραμμένων τοῖς κτημάτωναι εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

ὄνομα' 'after the sale of the afore-mentioned goods had been concluded with the purchasers on account of the god.'

The Latin 'nomen' in book-keeping phraseology is of course familiar.

ERNEST J. ROBSON.

NOTE ON SERES.

[The following note has been kindly sent us by Prof. H. A. Strong.]

THERE is an ancient (and modern still) word *sz*, *si*, or *sai* (variously pronounced according to dialect), meaning 'silk' in all dialects, at all times. It is usually supposed to have historical connection with *Ser* or *Seres*, *sericulture*, etc.

The modern Anglo-Chinese word 'sycee,' silver, is really the Cantonese pronunciation (*sai-si*) of the Pekingese *hsi-sz*, or 'fine silk,' referring to the fine lines shown in the silver surface when it is cut with a knife or chopper. In the same way a lady's *tussore* material is *t'u-sz*, or 'local silk.'

E. H. PARKER.

REVIEWS

BRUGMANN'S GRUNDRISS.

Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik.

By KARL BRUGMANN. Vol. II. (Morphology), Edition II. Part II. (Section I. pp. 1-424. Leipzig: 1909. Price 11s.)

THE second edition of the first part of this volume of this monumental Grammar has been noticed recently in the *Classical Review* (Feb. 1909, p. 18). The present continuation will certainly receive a no less cordial welcome from all serious students of any one of the Indo-European languages.

It contains the description of the following parts of Morphology: The Numerals, Gender, Number and Case of Nouns, Pronoun Stems, Number and Case of Pronouns.

This section of the first edition (published in 1899) occupied 371 pages, so that the expansion (to 424), though considerable, is not so noteworthy as in the first part. Indeed a first survey leaves the impression that a more complete digestion of the subject-matter has in more than one place led to some compression without any loss of lucidity. Thus room has been found for an entirely new and extremely interesting exposition of the history of Gender (pp. 82-109), whereas in the first edition there were only one or two scattered pages. The marked advance in knowledge of this puzzling section of Grammar, of which the main lines, but only these, were stated in the second part of the Short Comparative

Grammar (*Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik*, 1903) is now adequately represented; and the attention of teachers of Greek and Latin should be especially directed to the solution which they will find in this admirable chapter of a number of the curiosities of Greek and Latin Gender which are apt to puzzle sorely even beginners.

Two out of the many points of this section may perhaps be mentioned here as being represented with especial frequency in Greek and Latin. (1) Changes of Gender are most commonly produced by the influence of some substantive which in meaning resembles that whose Gender is changed. Thus *arbor*, which ought to be really a Neuter Noun (cf. *arbus-tum*), has been made Feminine because of the number of plant and tree names like *tília*, *vinea*, which were Feminine to start with. *Κόρινθος* is Feminine because *πόλις* was, and *diēs*, in the meaning 'season,' follows *tempestat*. (2) The second and even more important point is the fact that Feminine Gender in the great majority of cases was originally associated with Collective or Abstract meaning, as in Gr. *φόρα*, 'a bearing,' Lat. *toga*, originally 'a covering,' Skr. *matís*, Lat. *mēns*, 'a thinking.' I have no doubt that Latin *ratis* was originally quite as much an Abstract Noun derived from the root of *rēs* and *reor* meaning 'a calculating,' 'a devising,' as the Greek *φάτις* or *βάσις*. But it came to be used to denote something concrete, a particular kind of device, namely, a 'raft'; compare the meaning of the Greek *σχέδιον*, *αὐτοσχέδιάζειν*. When this had taken place, or while it was taking place, the abstract meaning once denoted by *ratis* was taken over wholly by the later formation *rati-ō*, *rati-ōn-is*. Let me hasten to add that this particular example is given here for its own sake as a conjecture, and will not be found in the book under notice; but the whole section throws a flood of light on what has been hitherto one of the most wearisome sections of school teaching, wearisome just because what theory there was behind it, Grimm's romantic notion of the personification of all things by the savage mind, was manifestly improbable. So that the school-boy was left to face a complex multitude of facts which not one of his teachers under-

stood.¹ But the reader must not infer that this new chapter, welcome though it is, is yet complete; still less that Brugmann speaks of it as if it were. Here, as always, one of the most striking features in the great master's work is the immovable modesty with which he points to questions which he has not been able to solve, or even to begin to investigate. And it would be easy to find several different points where the hints given in this section should lead younger scholars quickly into fruitful research.

In this Part no less than in the First Part of the volume the reader will gratefully discover a certain mellowness of judgment accompanied by a richer and more contemplative style, which adds something even to the old persuasiveness which has always marked Brugmann's exposition. This is conspicuous in the section on Gender already noticed; but it is not less perceptible in other parts of the book; for example, in the brief but most suggestive introduction to the History of Pronouns (p. 302-309). Here the reader will find indicated some of the most markedly primitive features of the Pronoun system. The Pronouns were older than Number, older than Gender, older than Cases. *Me* and *we* are not Cases of *I* but different words. And the suggestion (which can hardly be doubted) that in root the word *me* is identical with the Sanskrit Demonstrative Pronoun *āma-*, 'this,' so that *me* meant originally, like Gr. *ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁδῆί*, Lat. *hic homō*, 'this man here,' appears for the first time in the *Grundriss*, having been first published in Brugmann's *Essay on the Demonstrative Pronouns* (Leipzig, 1904). The same persuasive wealth² of argument appears in the

¹ I must not repeat here the explanation of the process by which the *-ā-* and *-i-* suffixes took up the meaning of female sex as one of their functions, as readers of this *Review* will find it set out fully in Vol. XVIII. (1904), p. 413.

² The only point I have noticed in which the rather disconcerting brevity of Brugmann's earliest writing seems to reappear is the treatment of the final *-ī* in Gr. *οὐτοσ-ī* and the like (p. 321 and p. 328). Here one would like some fuller discussion of the suggestion that this suffix is identical with the Feminine form of the Pronoun, but we are only referred to what is said very briefly on p. 361 of the *Short Comparative Grammar*, and the earlier discussion in Delbrück's

treatment of many of the difficult Case Problems, notably for instance, on p. 330 in the discussion of *eius* and *cuius*, both originally Adjectival; and the Oscan *poizād*, springing from a similar Genitive.

I may perhaps be allowed in conclusion to enumerate rapidly a few of the points where the reader will find suggestions which are either entirely new, or for the first time included in any systematic treatise:

P. 185. An admirable explanation of the difficult Homeric Dative *πόλλυ*.

P. 189. Of the confusion of form of Ablative and Instrumental in Italic.

part of the *Grundriss* (*Vergleichende Syntax*, Strassburg, 1893, p. 469). Is it quite fair to the purchaser of the second edition of the large *Grundriss* to refer to a shorter treatise which has appeared between the first and second editions? This is perhaps more to be regretted as the explanation there given (namely, that the forms in *-i* in Indo-European still retained the collective non-sexual meaning which originally belonged to the suffix) appears to be brilliant and convincing. For instance, I.-Eu. **sī-sī* (from which sprang the originals of English *she* and German *sie*) meant to start with 'thisness,' 'this group'; and other Pronouns with the same ending had an equally vague signification, soaring above and behind the petty distinctions of Gender and Number. Hence the schoolboy's enemy the Homeric *μιν* and the Attic *τιν* with their incorrigible uncertainty of meaning. This example of teaching by references is very unlike the method of the volume in general.

P. 233. Of the short *-ā* in the Greek Neuter Plural.

P. 307. Of the Demonstrative elements in the forms of the 2nd Personal Pronoun.

P. 325. The recognition of the original Pronominal forms I.-Eu. **es*, **em*, **ed* (side by side with **is*, **im*, and **id*) in the meanings 'he,' 'him,' 'it'; thus removing a large number of supposed anomalies in old Latin phonology.

Best of all, perhaps, is the careful addition to the description of the Case Endings of what is known of the nature of the Accent that each of them bore in Indo-European, for instance the Circumflex of the Genitive Plural on p. 238.

The only erratum I have noticed is on p. 84, where in the first sentence of § 89 the Vocative should surely have been mentioned beside the Accusative as wanting, *i.e.* having no separate form in Neuter Nouns.

Let me conclude by expressing, as it is a privilege to do, the hearty gratitude which will be felt by all students of language in this country to our veteran master, for the wealth of new knowledge and lucid teaching which is given us in this further instalment of his *Grundriss*.

R. S. CONWAY.

Manchester, August, 1909.

DOMASZEWSKI'S ROMAN RELIGION.

Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religion. Von A. VON DOMASZEWSKI. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner. Pp. 236.

THIS is a collection of papers which owe their re-publication to a suggestion of the lamented Prof. Dieterich, who seems to have often stimulated his colleagues to make the most of their best work. When such collections are as interesting and valuable as the one before us, they are of infinite service to students, and especially to non-German students, who often find it most difficult to lay their hand on a stray piece of research just at the moment when they most need it. Thus Wissowa's essays in the same region of

enquiry have been collected with great advantage, not to speak of Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*. In England a notable example is to be found in Mr. R. R. Marett's *Threshold of Religion*, recently published, where a series of papers are brought together which would be almost unintelligible except when studied as a whole.

The papers in the volume before us are not strictly homogeneous, and the reason for printing them together is not so much that they are inter-connected as that they all carry a certain weight. Their author is the recognised authority in the learned world on the religion of the army and the provinces of the Empire. When he is upon these

subjects we know that he is not likely to mislead us; when he leaves them for early Rome he is always interesting, but usually less convincing. At all times he is short and to the point; occasionally a little difficult to follow.

Some three or four of these papers deal with the writer's special subject—the religion of the army; e.g. I. die Tierbilder der Signa, II. (*lustratio exercitus*), with which may be connected XXIII on the *via triumphalis*, containing an interesting discussion of the famous scene of *suovetaurilia* in the Louvre, which is explained from the figures as representing the *lustratio* of a *census* in the Campus Martius. Two important essays which have recently appeared in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* discuss the 'Jupiter pillar' recently discovered at Mainz (with photographs), and the tutelary deities of the same city as depicted on a monument found in 1889. Particularly interesting to English students is the short paper on the Bonus Eventus of Isca (*C.I.L.*, vii. 97), where von Domaszewski finds, as he is fond of doing, a survival in a province of genuine old Roman religious practice, free from the Graecising tendency which had long prevailed in Italy. The figure of Bonus Eventus here wears a *linus* or apron, which was in historical times peculiar to the *popa*, i.e. assistant at sacrificial rites, who slew the victim. It may originally have been, as our author thinks, worn by the sacrificing priest, who beyond doubt at one time slew the victim himself. 'Die Gestalt des Gottes erscheint im Bilde gehüllt in die uralte Tracht des Priesters.' The presumption apparently is that the monument was erected by an Italian from some district where the old priestly dress was still in use.

No. IX is reprinted from an Austrian periodical which we do not usually see in this country, and as it deals with the family of Augustus as figured on the Ara Pacis we are glad to find it in this volume. Mrs. Strong has mentioned it in her book on Roman sculpture (p. 49 note), but it has not had the effect of modifying her statement that Augustus in the Villa Medici fragment is wearing 'the cap of the pontifex maximus.' As von Domaszewski points out, Augustus

was not yet pont. max. at the dedication of the Ara in B.C. 13, and what this figure wears is probably an *apex*, which should mark him as a *flamen*, probably a *flamen Julianus*. The tall figure with strong features, preceded by a man carrying an axe, is identified with Agrippa acting as pont. max. for Lepidus, as v. Duhn suggested as long ago as 1881. I am not aware that there is any definite evidence that a pont. max. could be thus represented by another member of the college; but it is necessary to assume that it was so, if we consider the importance of the office, and the long absences of Julius and Lepidus, whose periods of office covered in all just half a century.

Another very interesting paper is No. V on the political meaning of the arch of Trajan at Beneventum. But I must pass on to those in which the writer deals with matter more or less outside the usual sphere of his labour. One of these, No. XI, is occupied with the political allusions in the first six odes of Horace's third book. We may accept without scruple the general conclusion that Augustus is the central figure of these odes, binding them together, and that 'Augustus erscheint als der Träger der nationalen Tugenden, durch die er einst zur Unsterblichkeit eingehen soll.' That is neatly and pithily put. But when we come to illustrate this in detail we cannot always follow our author, whose imaginative faculty sometimes runs away with him. For example, in the second ode, short and puzzling to anyone on the look-out for personal and political allusions, he explains the lines beginning 'Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae' as referring to Augustus' refusal of a perpetual consulate in B.C. 23, and 'est et fidelituta silentio Merces' as an allusion to the treachery of Gallus. Mommsen, in a paper read (if I recollect right) to the Berlin Academy and reprinted in his *Reden und Aufsätze*, explained these same lines as alluding to the new imperial officials and the 'arcana imperii,' and believed the whole poem to refer to the new army Augustus was raising at the time it was written, and to the *virtus* expected of it. Reading the poem again with an unprejudiced mind, I confess myself unwilling to narrow and fix its meaning in

such ways. I prefer to take it as the praise of the military life of the young Roman of good birth, free from the temptations of wealth and political ambition, and far away from the gossip of the capital; or as an appeal to him to count the claim of the State as stronger than that of the individual, —the great lesson that Augustus directly or indirectly was always trying to teach his pupils.

I must say a word about the two or three essays which have to do with the genuine old Roman religion. One of them, No. XVIII, on 'die Festcyclen des altrömischen Kalenders' is concerned with certain technical peculiarities of the so-called calendar of Numa which I have not space to explain; I had something to say of this paper in the 'Year's work in Classical studies' for 1907. Two other papers now reprinted, X and XVII, exhibit our author's imaginative ingenuity at its best. I am entirely at one with him in his treatment of the well-known list of paired deities in Gellius 13. 23 (except in a few points of detail). It is hardly necessary to say that he does not look on these pairs as in any sense indicating the marriage of Roman deities; no one does that in these days but my friend Dr. J. G. Frazer, who in his *Adonis Attis Osiris* (ed. 2), endeavoured to confute the unanimous opinion of experts. The most interesting of these essays on the old religion is that dealing with *dei certi* and *incerti* of Varro, recently published in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*,—an unorthodox paper, as its author sadly says at the end of it (he means that it clashes with the views of Wissowa and his school), and all the more refreshing for that. His explanation of a *numen* is excellent; but the applications of it are not very convincing. The evolution of the idea of a personal *deus* out of an impersonal *numen* is not an easy process to track; and in my opinion it is here vitiated by the influence, visible throughout the paper, of Usener's theory that the great gods were evolved out of 'Sondergötter.' Dr. Farnell has done a good deal to show that this theory

does not apply to the Greek ideas of divinity (*Anthropological Essays* presented to E. B. Tylor, p. 81 foll.). As regards Rome I can find no satisfactory evidence. When von D. asks us to believe that Consus could emerge from Conditor, one of the spirits invoked in the *sacrum cereale* (Fab. Pictor in Serv. G. 1. 21) we feel that there is an anachronism in the argument. Consus is as old as anything we know of the Romans, while Conditor and all his strange company are (in my view) a pontifical elaboration of later days. Consus, too, was himself a *numen*, and never, so far as we know, developed into a personal *deus*. The whole story of the evolution of the *numen*, as given in this paper, is charming, and would be a solution of many difficulties if it were only based on sound premises; as it is, it is pure imagination. No elaborate litanies, *comprecationes*, of a comparatively late age, can give us any certain clue to the earliest conception of the supernatural by the people who invented them. This was Usener's mistake; he applied the elaborate ritual of the age of pontifical invention to explain processes which cannot be explained at all except by an amount of anthropological research much more complete than it is now. To deal fairly with the old Roman religion we must, as far as possible, leave the Indigitamenta alone.

I should wish to mention in the last place that at the end of the essay on the *via triumphalis*, there is a note at the end by B. Kahle, comparing the passage of the army through the *porta triumphalis* outside the walls, with the old medical practice of passing a sick person through a hole in a tree. The subject is interesting to anthropologists; there is undoubtedly magic of some kind here. In van Gennep's recently published 'Rites de passage,' ch. 2, a simpler explanation will be found; the gate is the mark of limitation between the sacred and the profane. Probably the same idea is at the root of the passage *sub iugum* of a conquered army.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

JEBB'S TRANSLATION OF ARISTOTLE'S *RHETORIC*.

The Rhetoric of Aristotle. A Translation by SIR RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB, edited with an introduction and with supplementary notes by JOHN EDWIN SANDYS. Cambridge: University Press, 1909. 8vo. Pp. xxviii, 207. 6s. net.

THIS translation was made more than thirty years ago,—between the months of August 1872 and May 1873. Its author was at that time an Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge; and in this capacity he lectured on the *Rhetoric*. He intended to publish his version, but for some unknown reason abandoned the design. It has now been issued, some three years after his death, under the editorial care of Dr. Sandys. The volume also contains short footnotes, an index of subject-matter, a marginal and a continuous analysis, and an introduction touching upon the history of Greek rhetoric before the time of Aristotle and upon the views held by certain modern scholars with regard to the date, structure, and text of the *Rhetoric* itself. These additions are due chiefly to the editor, who has however drawn, wherever possible, upon special memoranda made by the translator as well as upon the introductory pages of his *Attic Orators*. The editor has, further, revised the translation and has supplied some accidental omissions.

It would have been a serious loss to scholarship if this version had remained in manuscript. A translator of the *Rhetoric* requires gifts but rarely united. He must possess a mastery alike of Greek and of English. How else can his version be, as Aristotle might have put it, faithful and clear without being bald and mean? Open Jebb's rendering where you will, you feel that you are reading genuine English,—terse, idiomatic, easy, vigorous. If a single sentence seems (on p. 98) to present an exception, it is but the exception that proves the rule. If your attention is arrested (p. 43) by the phrase 'elect to do harm' and you wonder for the moment whether that usage has found its footing in English or

is an Americanism still on its trial, you are not long in recollecting or discovering that it has good authority in some standard English authors. The style of the *Rhetoric* is sometimes said to be excessively dry. This criticism should not be too readily allowed; and it certainly will not apply to Jebb's translation. To take an instance almost at a venture:

'When I talk of a polity being corrupted by things proper to it, I mean that all polities, except the best, are corrupted, both by relaxation and by tension. Democracy, for instance, is weakened, so that it must end in oligarchy, not only by relaxing but by overstraining: just as the aquiline and the snub-nosed type, which unbending brings to the right mean, may also be intensified to a point at which the very semblance of a nose is lost' (i. 4: Jebb p. 17).

This brevity, force and point is Aristotle's due; and those who have themselves tried to translate the *Rhetoric* will know how easy it is to be fatally prolix and periphrastic, or to write a vicious Greek-English which needs to be further translated into *English*.

One or two suggestions may be of service to the editor, when he comes to revise the book anew for the fresh issue which is likely soon to be required. A few of the 'accidental omissions' to which he refers have escaped his notice, and the present reviewer will gladly furnish a list of those which he has jotted down while reading through the translation side by side with the original. Most readers would welcome renderings in verse (rather than in prose) of the many passages which are quoted from the poets in the *Rhetoric*. Though the translator used prose in the lecture-room, it does not follow that he would have done so when presenting his work to a wider public. A definite statement, if possible (cp. p. 78 n. 2), as to the Greek text followed by the translator would have been useful. It is true that Dr. Sandys has carefully inserted references which make it easy to use the version in connexion with any of the principal Greek texts, and that he has himself added many valuable critical notes. But here and there we miss guidance. In i. 15, for example, it might have been

mentioned that the translator clearly adopts the reading ἀξιοῖ rather than ἀξιούσιν.

It is seldom that the interpretation given by the translator seems open to doubt. But attention may be drawn to a few passages where still greater clearness or exactitude might possibly have been attained :

(1) In the definition (already alluded to) of diction, or style, in iii. 2, neither Jebb and Weldon in their translations, nor Cope in his commentary, make it plain how carefully Aristotle is adapting to the case of rhetorical prose the definition which he had given of poetical style in the *Poetics* c. 22 : λέξεως δὲ ἀρετὴ σαφὴ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴ εἶναι. Jebb's rendering of the passage in the *Rhetoric* runs : 'One virtue of Diction may be defined to be clearness. This appears from the fact that, if our language does not express our meaning, it will not do its work. Again, diction ought to be neither low nor too dignified, but suitable to the subject. (The diction of poetry could hardly be called "low," yet it is not suitable to prose.)' The connexion of thought in these sentences of Aristotle is : 'The first half of our definition in the *Poetics*, that which refers to clearness, must stand (ὠρίσθω) in reference to prose as well as poetry, since all λόγος implies the expression of our meaning (λέγειν = δηλοῦν). But the second half needs some addition and qualification : καὶ μήτε ταπεινὴν μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν' ἢ γὰρ ποιητικὴ ἴσως οὐ ταπεινή, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπουσα λόγῳ.' The concluding words might perhaps be translated : 'the style of poetry is, no doubt (ἴσως, *non dubitantis sed cum modestia quadam asseverantis*), the opposite of mean, but it is not appropriate to prose.' Cope's 'for though, it may be, poetical language is not tame,' and Weldon's 'for a poetical style, although possibly not mean,' hardly suggest with sufficient clearness the idea in the writer's mind. Aristotle recognises (*Rhet.* iii. cc. 1, 2), at one and the same time, that the language of poetry was in his own day approximating to that of prose, and yet that 'the diction of prose and the diction of poetry are distinct,' and that in prose there are fewer opportunities of deviation from the ordinary idiom, the subject-matter

of prose being humbler. [Notwithstanding the absence of the article, which seems to have troubled Cope and the translators, the sense conveyed by ἀρετὴ both in the *Poetics* and in the *Rhetoric* is 'the excellence,—the perfection,—of style consists in being clear without being mean,' etc. The excellence which Aristotle recognises is one, though it may have more than one side. With regard to the presence or absence of the article, cp. *Rhet.* iii. 12 εἴπερ ὁρθῶς ὠρίσται ἢ ἀρετὴ τῆς λέξεως, and iii. 5 ἔστι δ' ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἐλληγνίζειν.]

(2) In iii. 6 would not 'amplitude' be a better equivalent for ὄγκος than 'dignity'? The latter is the traditional and accepted rendering, but it sorts ill with the examples actually given by Aristotle. One of the recipes for the attainment of ὄγκος is, 'To use the description instead of the name : as by saying, not, "Circle", but "A plane surface, every point on the circumference of which is equally distant from the centre."' (With this we are tempted to compare or contrast Aristotle's πῶν διὰ οὐδεὶς οὕτω γεωμετρεῖν διδάσκει, iii. 1.) The other instances are of the same kind : their wording is the opposite of concise, as Aristotle himself in most cases points out. The example from Antimachus (a description by negatives) would doubtless, if we had it in full, illustrate the epithet *tumidus* applied to him by Catullus. ὄγκος, in its rhetorical acceptation, stands on the border-line between praise and blame. 'Amplitude,' or possibly 'grandeur,' may therefore serve the turn, while 'dignity' can be reserved for σεμνότης which, as a personal characteristic, is no worse than a 'tempered and decent oppressiveness' (μαλακὴ καὶ εἰσχήμων βαρύτης, ii. 17).

(3) In iii. 3 Alcidas's description of the *Odyssey* as καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον is, as is customary, translated 'a fair mirror of human life.' Perhaps it would be better, here, to say 'looking-glass' rather than 'mirror.' There is nothing to startle us in 'mirror,' which has now become one of the commonest metaphors in the language. But the context shows that Aristotle is thinking of those novel and violent comparisons which tend to give an air of unreality to

the passages in which they are found. We cannot fully understand why he condemned what has since proved so serviceable and popular a metaphor. But in the same sentence is quoted the description of philosophy as 'an outpost that threatens the laws' (ἐπιτείχισμα τῶν νόμων); and this metaphor of 'hostile fortress,' being less trite to us, may help us to enter into his point of view,—that of the essential incongruity of the things compared.

The editor (whose special competence in this domain is so widely recognised) contributes many valuable notes of his own. In iii. 11, § 15 he explains the words 'this is like the Carpathian and the hare' as 'a proverbial reference to the Carpathian, who imported a pair of rabbits into the island between Crete and Rhodes, and lived to see the island overrun and devastated by their progeny.' This explanation raises some interesting points of natural history. And what is the ancient Greek word for 'rabbit'? Is it λεβηρίς? In a note on section 8 of the same chapter, he happily suggests 'There is no bearing Baring' as an English equivalent for 'Ἀνάσχετος οὐκ ἀνασχετός. Baring is not an uncommon name in English; but, were it otherwise, the present President of the Classical Association would no doubt view the pleasantry with much equanimity, remembering that (as Aristotle hastens to

add) such a pun with the negative holds good 'only if Anaschetos is disagreeable.'

There are many details in the translation and the notes which one would like to discuss did space permit. And the *Rhetoric* itself opens up a boundless field for comment, with its sturdy common-sense, its splendid love of truth, and its amazing insight into the workings of the human heart. As an undergraduate one is struck perhaps chiefly by its austerity. In later years one feels more fully the hidden warmth with which Aristotle commends the good rhetoric that expounds the truth persuasively, in preference to the bad rhetoric that deludes by the tinsel of style and by unworthy appeals to our emotions. The greatness of the *Rhetoric* is best appreciated when it is compared and contrasted with the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*,—a treatise which, after the publication of the *Hibeh Papyri*, must be referred, with even greater probability than before, to Aristotle's own age. To this comparison the present writer hopes to recur in an article, to be published elsewhere, on 'The *Rhetorics* attributed to Aristotle.' He may then have an opportunity of dwelling still further upon the excellence of Jebb's translation, which should have a wide circulation not only among students of the ancient classics but among cultivated readers generally.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

GAULISH BAS RELIEF.

Recueil Général des Bas Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine. Par EMILE ESPÉRANDIEU.
Tome 1^{er} (*Alpes Maritimes, Alpes Cottienes, Corse, Narbonnaise*), Paris, 1907.
Tome 2^{me}. *Aquitaine*, Paris, 1908.

PROFESSOR MICHAELIS, in a new edition of his *Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, will have to give in his table of epoch-making dates the year 1907, for it saw the publication of the first volume of the great *Recueil* which Commandant Espérandieu is compiling of all the ancient works of art of the Gallo-Roman period. That the *Recueil* is not one

of those mighty works which flag soon after inception is proved by the appearance of a second volume at the close of 1908—at an interval of scarce a year from the appearance of the first. Only those who have tried this kind of work, even on a restricted scale, can appreciate the 'courage' (a word which Espérandieu need not disclaim as 'excessive' in the present instance) and the patience and generous devotion which it entails. The work is subsidised by the State, and has the support of the most learned men in France, having been—if I mistake not—largely inspired by the indefatigable zeal of the

illustrious Curator of the *Museum of Saint Germain*, yet Espérandieu alone is responsible for the actual work and the immense preparatory labour of taking or obtaining photographs or other illustrations of every sculpture, however fragmentary, found on the soil of ancient Gaul. From the title the work appears to be restricted to reliefs, but already in the first volume Espérandieu had seen the wisdom of adding important or unknown works in the round. In the second volume he so far enlarges his scope, without, however, modifying his title, as to include both classes systematically, and promises that an appendix shall at an early date make good omissions from vol. i. For the work itself, its detail, its thoroughness, the lucidity of the descriptions, and for the illustrations (comparatively excellent, if we have regard to the moderate price of the work) we can have nothing but gratitude and admiration, feelings, however, not perhaps entirely unmixed with envy when we reflect that nothing of similar importance and utility has been attempted for the scattered and sadly neglected sculptures of Roman Britain.

The words *de la Gaule Romaine* are indicative of provenance only, not of period, and cover all antique sculptured work found in Gaul, whether Greek, Roman, Gallo-Greek or Gallo-Roman, and even some examples of native art anterior to the Roman conquest. We may regret that Espérandieu does not more often discriminate between the different classes, at any rate where to do so is obviously easy; but he is careful to forestall this criticism by explaining that he aims solely at a Corpus of monuments, and, as a rule, omits archaeological discussion as being more in place in monographs. In the main he is right not to obscure ascertained data by theories and controversies in a work where the chief aim must be permanent value. Yet in the bibliography of the Arch of Carpentras (vol. i. p. 179) we miss any reference to Furtwängler, *Tropaion von Adamklissi*, p. 503, plate xi. 3. Moreover, in Furtwängler's view that the splendid sculptures reflect as late as the reign of Tiberius a living Hellenic tradition, Espérandieu would have found his own dating confirmed (p. 181). In the discussion on the Arch of Orange and the

monument of Saint Rémy the opinions of S. Reinach and of Ed. Courbaud are cited—why not those of Furtwängler on the dating of Orange,¹ of those of Wickhoff (*Roman Art*, p. 66 and p. 70) on the art of the monument of Saint Rémy? It is impossible, by the way, to avoid noticing with regret that, 'faute d'un échafaudage,' the sculptures of so historic and splendid a monument as the Arch of Orange are illustrated from unsatisfactory photographs of casts.

The arrangement adopted is geographical. The first volume embraces the wonderful art of Southern Gaul—of that Greek Gaul which Ernst Maass has lately written about so eloquently. This volume includes the Arch of Susa, with its curious reliefs, which, in spite of Ferrero and Studniczka, are less known than discussed. Among the vast number of illustrations, mostly of unfamiliar and many of admirable works, students of all periods of ancient art are likely to find much to interest them. A fine piece of Greek work from the late fifth century is given on p. 65, No. 72, and there are important Graeco-Roman copies like the Athena of Poitiers, discovered as lately as 1902, and already published by M. Audouin in *Monuments Piot*, ix. (1902). Besides the magnificent and already well-known sarcophagi, such as that of Phaidra at Avignon, and the grand portraiture that includes such masterpieces as the Augustus from Martres Tolosanes, fine pieces of Augustan workmanship like the altar with oak leaves at Arles, we find the impressive series of Gallo-Roman Stelai displaying the serious 'frontal' art of Roman sepulchral art, relieved now and again by the pathetic charm of the reliefs of children or young people. While we get what are practically complete and accessible catalogues of the antiques of the larger Provincial Museums (Marseilles, Arles, Toulouse, Bordeaux), every minor locality has been visited and searched. The arches of Cavaillon and Carpentras, those of the Roman bridge at Saint Chamas, enrich in this accessible form

¹ Since writing the above the date of the Arch of Orange seems to have been fixed in the generation before Tiberius by S. Reinach's paper, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1909, pp. 513-518.

our picture of ancient Gaul. Everywhere we find the massive splendour of native Roman conceptions asserting itself by the side with the traditions, now becoming academic and stereotyped, derived from earlier Classic art, as in that grand statue of a Gaulish soldier (vol. i. p. 210, No. 271) who already has more about him of the mediaeval knight than of the pagan hero.

As Espérandieu gives many monuments which though now in foreign museums were found in Gaul, he should find a place in the promised appendix to vol. i. for the fine Roman group of the Flavian epoch and the Roman statue, both from Apt and now in the Chatsworth collection (Furtwängler *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi., 1900, plates 14 and 15).

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

HERCULANEUM.

Herculaneum—Past, Present, and Future.

By CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt. D., Ph. D., London: Macmillan & Co., 1908. 8vo. LL.D., and LEONARD SHOORIDGE, M.A. Pp. xxii, 324. 59 Illustrations. 21s. net.

Buried Herculaneum. By ETHEL ROSS BARKER. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908. 8vo. xvi, 253. Nine plans and 64 plates. 7s. 6d.

PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN'S book is a study in diplomacy, the story of a *coup d'état* that failed. The failure of this great attempt to bring about a complete and systematic excavation of Herculaneum, with the assistance of the most skilled archaeologists of every nation, and with strong financial support drawn from as many sources, was not due to lack of enthusiasm on the Professor's part. His enthusiasm is shown in every line, and the correspondence in Appendix I. is sufficient evidence of his activity in many capitals. The attempt was magnificent, but was it wisely conceived? Had Professor Waldstein as intimate an experience of Italian archaeologists as of Greek, we doubt whether he would have so marshalled his forces.

Both nations are proud, both are apt to resent even advice. But the race of archaeologists in Greece is yet young. They are still willing to learn from outside, and wisely accept competent advice. Their museums are few, and their curators are eager for new things. In Italy archaeologists are many, and they want work, telling work such as newspapers will hasten to publish and correspon-

dents will transmit to the world. The plan, particularly as in its conception it might appear to them, divided the vast cost, it is true, but divided also the fame and the applause. Further, its approach was heralded with royal salutes, and the Italian shrank in dismay, and, without his accustomed courtesy we must confess, retired. But let us imagine the plight of *il Re d'Italia* covering with his shield an unfortunate native archaeologist pursued by the invectives of the Kaiser and President Roosevelt! It was unlikely, but it was possible, and therefore it must never be.

In Part II. Professor Waldstein waxes eloquent in his dream of the manner in which he would have Herculaneum excavated. The scale is great: it is the millennium of archaeology, a very fellowship of saintly scholars. But the details are not new, are not in fact materially different from what any school would plan, if only they had a worthy site and were assured of a sufficient sum. A central telephone office connected with every trench would be a great boon to many a harassed director. A fence even of barbed wire to keep out the curious would preserve many from the sin of wrath. Ledger clerks to enter up the day-books would release many a sleepy excavator who has been at the 'dig' since 6 a.m. The Professor is indeed right in insisting on a preliminary survey by a competent engineer for the tramway-lines and the position of the 'dump.' Olympia and Delphi have shown archaeologists how this can be done. It is also a question whether nations and their archaeologists should not insist on a financial

guarantee corresponding to the probable amount necessary to clear a site thoroughly. Partial excavation destroys landmarks, deters successors, and may mislead rather than assist scholars.

Is Professor Waldstein right in thinking that isolated excavation by schools as in Greece is bad? We doubt it. Assuming that international excavation is improbable, and the present failure shows the improbability, is it better that one nation should excavate, as in Italy, and others stand by and criticise with acerbity, or that each school should dig its best and the peace of private enterprise be upon the land?

The interest of the book is however great, the enthusiasm contagious, and we can wholeheartedly admire both the magnificence of the volume in which the *apologia* appears, and the magnanimity with which he treats

the ungrateful opposition. The plates are on the whole good, though text and plate mutually ignore relationship, and the items in the 'List of Principal Objects which can be identified as coming from Herculaneum' in Appendix III. can only with some research be identified with the plates in which they appear.

In these respects Miss Barker's book is superior. She gives a rapid survey of the buildings excavated, the papyri, the marbles and bronzes, and the inscriptions found there, a good bibliography and catalogues. The plates are described in the text, and their numbers are given in the catalogues. This systematic care gives the book considerable value, though much of the information is elementary and unsuited to a treatise on so specialised a subject.

A. M. DANIEL.

LETHABY'S GREEK STUDIES, PARTS III AND IV.

Greek Buildings represented by fragments in the British Museum. Part iii, *The Parthenon and its Sculptures.* Part iv, *The Theseum, Erechtheum and other works.* London: B. T. Batsford. 1908. 9½" × 6". 2 vols. (4 to complete). iii, 76 pages; iv, 65 pages. Many line drawings and a few process blocks. iii, 3s. net; iv, 3s. 6d. net.

IF the two concluding parts of Prof. Lethaby's series have not quite the same interest as the other two, it is mostly by fault of subject. Ephesus and the Mausoleum are made reconstructive studies in a way which is impossible in dealing with the Parthenon and the remaining architectural fragments of Greek work in the Museum.

The part dealing with the Parthenon—primarily the sculpture—is really of value as an architectonic study. One cannot but admire both the freshness of the treatment and the thoroughness with which the work is examined piece by piece.

These sculptures are surely as much to the practical art worker as to the archaeologist, and Prof. Lethaby's treatment of them is

that of an art worker, though he has by no means neglected the recorded study of others both in literature and drawings.

After all, it is just the artist's point of view, properly governed, which is most wanted now. There is already such a body of appreciation and such a mass of opinion walling round this Holy of Holies of Greek art, that we have to turn in the end to the kind of man who sees and feels the work as if he had done it himself.

To be more precise, then, the value of the present study lies mainly in its practical and constructive analysis and synthesis of the fragments, which is largely helped by the illustrations. One can follow these right through and find very few gaps.

The line treatment adopted throughout is good, as also is the attention paid to such vital matters (for the artist) as massing, jointing, sections of material, and colour. The illustrations, apparently by the author, may be divided into two classes, careful and quite admirable drawings of the metopes and important pediment figures, and looser but still expressive sketches, almost invariably

quite sufficient for their purpose. There is often feeling in the latter, too, enough and to spare; see, for example, the upper hand of Athena on p. 92.

Prof. Lethaby can also write even about the Parthenon figures most excellently well. 'The pediments,' he says, 'were stone books of Genesis and the Covenant, the metopes were chapters from the Books of Kings and Chronicles; the frieze, representing the present relation of the gods to the chosen city at the great feast of Athena, was a sort of Psalm of rejoicing'; and again, in speaking of the pediment figures—'To examine them from steps is a revelation, the muscular back and shoulders of the Theseus, the soft rounded arms of the Demeter and the wife of Cecrops—strong, yet almost flowing, in extraordinary beautiful curves—the bare shoulder of one of the Fates, the startled horses of the Sun, the perfect pose of the Ilissus, the variety of texture and fold in the draperies of the goddesses, the dainty buttoning of the sleeve, the big folds of skirts and mantles, the great restful forms, and the resistless energy of the cutting are all wonderful and lovely. Most wonderful of all is the great spirit which fills out and transcends the forms. They are not mere statues, they are creatures proper to temples born in marble. The Fates are as majestic as mountains.'

Due attention is paid to the excellent drawing of Pars and Carrey. The architectural relationship of the sculptures to one another is sufficiently explained by the account of the building at the beginning, which serves also to connect this section of the series with the others, and is no more than enough for that purpose in a part which is three-fourths sculpture.

In the fourth section, 'The Theseum, the Erechtheum and other works.' There

are so many 'other works' that the whole becomes almost too large a mouthful to digest, and is rather like reading a dictionary; but at any rate it would be difficult to get more about the many buildings dealt with in the space at disposal. In this and the previous section some of the architectural descriptions are written, as it were, in a kind of shorthand, and leave almost too much to the imagination.

The ordinary reader will probably find Part IV a mass of technical information. It is, much more than the other, written exclusively for the architectural student, and to him it should be most valuable.

A few of the interesting points of detail that are mentioned may be noticed here: p. 148—The cymatium at Rhamnus (and possibly at the Theseum?) was continued along the flanks as a gutter: p. 154—the Ilissus Temple, according to Stuart, had a palmette ornament painted on its architrave: p. 158—the (earlier) anta cap of the Niké Temple resembled when finished the similar cap of the Erechtheum, but the result was attained by painting, not carving: p. 164—the bringing of the anta neck-band on to the columns of the Erechtheum allies their capitals with the Corinthian [*N.B.*—this is not a fact only, it is an idea of great value]: p. 166—the palmettes on these capital neck-bands are irregularly spaced, so that there are 19 palmettes to 24 flutes.

Another opinion of value is that the Bassae Temple is probably very late fifth century.

Attention is drawn to the insufficient exhibition of the noble fragment of the head from Rhamnus.

The publishers issue the booklets separately, and also as a bound volume with a short index.

THEODORE FYFE.

HELLENISM IN EGYPT.

Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus. Vol. II. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1908. 8vo. Pp. vi, 417. Unbound, M. 14; bound, M. 17.

THIS volume concludes Dr. Otto's lengthy and important monograph on the religious organization of Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, of which the first volume appeared in 1905. The present instalment follows the lines laid down in the author's preface to the first volume, dealing with the organization and the social and political position of the priesthood, the revenues and administration of the temples, and the like, but not, except as regards single points, with the religion itself, nor with the Jewish and Christian churches. The author shows in this volume the same care and thoroughness which was evident in the first, and within the limits observed has treated his subject exhaustively. A list of additions and corrections to both volumes is given at the end; that these are numerous is not surprising in view of the constant yearly additions to our knowledge of the period covered.

The volume begins with a chapter (the fifth) on the expenses of the temples. This is in continuation of the fourth chapter, dealing with their revenues, with which the previous volume concluded, and is followed by one treating of the administration both of the temples themselves and of their possessions. The author shows an exemplary caution in distinguishing between facts and hypotheses, but it must be acknowledged that in these two chapters the hypotheses are the more numerous, and that on many points there is at present too little evidence to justify any very positive conclusion. Otto's treatment of the questions discussed furnishes however an admirable summary of our present knowledge, though doubtless not a few of his conclusions will require modification later. A not unimportant part of the expenses of the temples consisted of taxes; and a useful list of these, alphabetically

arranged, is given, with a discussion of each item. It seems however a mistake to divide them into 'Gebühren' and 'Steuern.' Of the sixth chapter a considerable portion is occupied by the discussion of the administration of temple property by the state, in which the author examines in detail the evidence of ostraca and other documents. A good deal of the argument here is somewhat conjectural.

The last two chapters, relating respectively to the social position of the priests and to the relations between state and 'church' (as Otto justifiably terms the hierarchy), are of most general interest. The author's examination of the evidence as to the education and general culture of the priests leads him to the conclusion that these have been greatly exaggerated by ancient, and after them by modern, writers; and the evidence strongly favours his view. The value of his discussion of the morals of the priesthood is somewhat lessened by the paucity of evidence; and though he seems inclined to the opinion 'dass man überhaupt deren Moral nicht zu hoch einschätzen darf,' the instances of irregular conduct by members of the priesthood which he quotes are hardly sufficient to justify any confident conclusion, since they are comparatively few, and, as the author admits, the documents preserved on papyrus are such as would more naturally mention violations of the law, civil or moral, than its observance. The last chapter gives an admirable outline of the relations between the state and the religious community, and shows clearly that throughout the whole period covered the state was careful to maintain the upper hand. As the author concludes, 'in dem Kampf zwischen Staat und Kirche, dem wir in der Weltgeschichte allenthalben begegnen, hat im alten Ägypten schliesslich der Staat auf der ganzen Linie gesiegt.'

The volume concludes with full and useful indices: of subjects, of Greek words, of gods and temples, of the eponymous priests, and of sources.

H. I. BELL.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

PROPRIETORSHIP OF THE
CLASSICAL REVIEW
AND CLASSICAL QUARTERLY.

THE arrangement foreshadowed in the November number has now been completed. The *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* have become the property of the Classical Association, and will in future be controlled by a Board of seven Managers nominated for the purpose by the Council of the Association. But in consideration of contributions kindly made or promised to the Purchase Fund by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge, the Council of the Classical Association will appoint one member of the seven on the nomination of each of the Societies.

The Board has been constituted by the Council as follows:

Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P. (appointed Chairman at the first meeting of the Board).

Professor R. S. CONWAY (appointed Treasurer).

Professor J. W. MACKAIL, Professor F. HAVERFIELD, Mr. ERNEST HARRISON, M.A., were appointed by the Council *de suo*.

Professor W. RIDGEWAY, has been appointed on the nomination of the Cambridge Philological Society; and a representative will shortly be appointed by the Oxford Philological Society.

The Board has met and requested the present Editors of the *Review* and *Quarterly* to continue their office for 1910. The size of the journals will be maintained as heretofore; but some reductions in the subscriptions are made to members of the Classical Asso-

ciation and of either of the two Philological Societies.

Full particulars of these changes will be found in the circular which will be issued simultaneously with this number of the *Review*. Some account of the steps which have led to this consummation, with a full list of the friends of the Classical Association who have subscribed to the Purchase Fund, will be published in the next number of either the *Classical Review* or the *Classical Quarterly*. Among the subscribers to whom the Board desire to render especial thanks must be mentioned the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Collins, Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, and Lord Halsbury.

Books for review should be sent to Mr. J. Murray, 50a Albemarle St., W., who has been appointed publisher to the Classical Journals Board.

WE hope to publish later an account of the *Wasps* at Cambridge: but we should like now to enter a protest against the encroachment of music upon these plays. This is not only improper because it was not so in Greece; the music, however agreeable in itself, sometimes interferes with the speeches of the actors, and nearly always drowns the chorus. When not a word of the chorus is intelligible, this part becomes a bore; and there is no reason why a Greek chorus should not be intelligible when every word sung by a chorus in Gilbert and Sullivan's operas is easily heard. The enunciation was the weak point of this play. No one spoke well, and most very badly.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

* * * *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Aristophanes and Others. By Herbert Richards, M.A. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xii + 398. London, Grant Richards. 1909. Cloth, 7s. net.

Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens. By Maurice Croiset. Translated by James Loeb, A.B. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xx + 192. London, Macmillan & Co. 1909. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Bacon (Roger) Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi. Fasc. I. *Metaphysica Fratris Rogeri*

ordinis fratrum minorum de viciis contractis in studio theologie. Omnia quae supersunt nunc primum edidit Robert Steele. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 56. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. 5s. net. (\$1.75.)

Bacon (Roger) Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi. Fasc. II. *Liber primus communium naturalium fratris Rogeri.* Partes prima et secunda edidit Robert Steele. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi + 138. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. 10s. 6d. net.

- Clark* (Albert Curtis) *Fontes Prosaе Numerosae*, collegit A. C. C. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 48. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Paper-boards, 4s. 6d. net.
- Dix* (C. M.) *First Latin Lessons*, with English Exercises based on the text. For the use of preparatory and all types of secondary schools. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 268. London, Rivingtons. 1909. Cloth, 2s.
- Fitzhugh* (T.) *The Sacred Tripudium*. University of Virginia: Bulletin of the School of Latin, No. 3. Second Edition. 10" $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 64. Charlottesville, Va., Anderson Bros. 75 cents.
- Hill* (G. F.) *Historical Roman Coins from the earliest times to the reign of Augustus*. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xviii + 192. With 15 plates. London, Constable & Co. 1909. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Hoadley* (H.) *The Authenticity and Date of the Sophoclean Ajax*, 1040-1420. (Doctor's Diss.) 9" $\times$ 6". Pp. viii + 52. Lancaster, Pa., New Era Printing Co. 1909.
- Hodges* (A. L.) *Caesar's Gallic War, I.-VII.* Edited by A. L. H. (*Macmillan's Latin Series*.) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 522. New York. 1909. Cl. \$1.25 net.
- Horace*. Q. Horati Flacci Saturarum liber II. Edited with introduction and notes by James Gow, Litt.D. (*Pitt Press Series*.) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxviii + 136. Cambridge, University Press. 1909. Cloth, 2s.
- Kalinka et Zingerle*. *Commentationes Aenipontanae*, quas edunt E. Kalinka et A. Zingerle. IV. Übersicht über philologische MSS. aus tirolischen Bibliotheken, von A. Zingerle. Zur Würdigung Polzäns von G. Müller. De Codice Aenipontano 579 quo continetur Ovidi Remedia Amoris: J. Lechner. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 104. Ad Aeni Pontem, Wagner. 1908.
- Kinfur* (W. E. J.) *De Lysidis Dialogi Origine tempore Consilio*. (Doctor's Diss.) 9" $\times$ 6". Pp. 122. Zwollae, Willink. Cl.
- A Latin Anthology*. (*Golden Treasury Series*.) 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 188. London, Macmillan & Co. 1909. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Lecker* (P.) *De Photis et Aretha Lexicorum Scriptoribus*. (Doctor's Diss.) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 92. Bonn, University Press. 1909.
- Nilsson* (M. P.) *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, publiés avec une étude sur les timbres amphoriques rhodiens. (Ac. Roy. des Sc. et des Lettres de Danemark; extr. de Bull. de l'année, 1909, No. 1-4.) 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 1-180, 349-540. Plates. Copenhagen, Luno. 1909.
- Oldfather* (W. A.) *Livy i. 26 and the Supplician jus maiorum*. Extracted from the Trans. of the Am. Phil. Ass. XXXIX. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 49-72. 1909.
- Ovid*. P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon liber III. Edited, with introduction and notes [and with or without vocabulary], by M. Cartwright, M.A. (Wales). 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. 110. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Cloth, 2s. (50 c.)
- Pearce* (J. W. E.) *Caesar Imperator*. An elementary Latin reader with vocabulary and exercises on the text. (*Dent's Classical Series*.) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 126. London, J. M. Dent & Co. 1909. Linen boards, 1s. 4d.
- Peet* (T. Eric) *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 528. With 275 illustrations in the text, 4 maps and 6 plates. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Cloth, 16s. net. (\$5.25.)
- Plato*. *The Ion of Plato*, with introduction and notes by St. George Stock, M.A. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. xvi + 18 + 26. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1909. Cloth, 2s. 6d. (60 c.)
- Prentice*. See Syria.
- Ralli* (Augustus) *Christians at Mecca*. Illustrated. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. x + 284. London, William Heinemann. 1909. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Saunders* (C.) *Costume in Roman Comedy*. By C. S. Instructor in Latin, Vassar College. 7" $\times$ 5". Pp. 146. New York, Columbia University Press. 1909. Cl. \$1.25 net.
- Sidey* (T. K.) *The Participle in Plautus, Petronius, and Apuleius*. (Doctor's Diss.) By T. K. S. 10" $\times$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 70. Chicago, University Press. 1909. 83 cents post free.
- Syria*. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria*. Sect. B. Northern Syria. Part 2. Il Anderin, Keratin, Marata. Part 3. Djebel Riha and Djebel Wasanih. By W. K. Prentice. (*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905*.) 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 10". Pp. 43-120. Leyden, (Late) Brill. 1909.
- Tesson* (L.) *Le Français Fonétique*. Revue Trimestrielle dévouée à la propagation de la langue française et au progrès des méthodes d'enseignement. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 44. Paris, Amat. Oct. 1909. 2 fr. per annum, 50 c. a part.
- Weise* (O.) *Language and Character of the Roman People*. Translated, with additional notes and references, for English readers, by H. A. Strong, LL.D., and A. N. Campbell, B.A. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. x + 260. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1909. Cl. 6s. net.
- Williams* (C. B.) *The Participle in the Book of Acts*. (Doctor's Diss.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 80. Chicago, University Press. 1909. 54 cents post free.
- Zielinski* (Prof.) *Our Debt to Antiquity*. By Professor Zielinski. Translated, with introduction and notes, by Prof. H. A. Strong, LL.D., and Hugh Stewart, B.A. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 240. London, George Routledge & Sons. 1909. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

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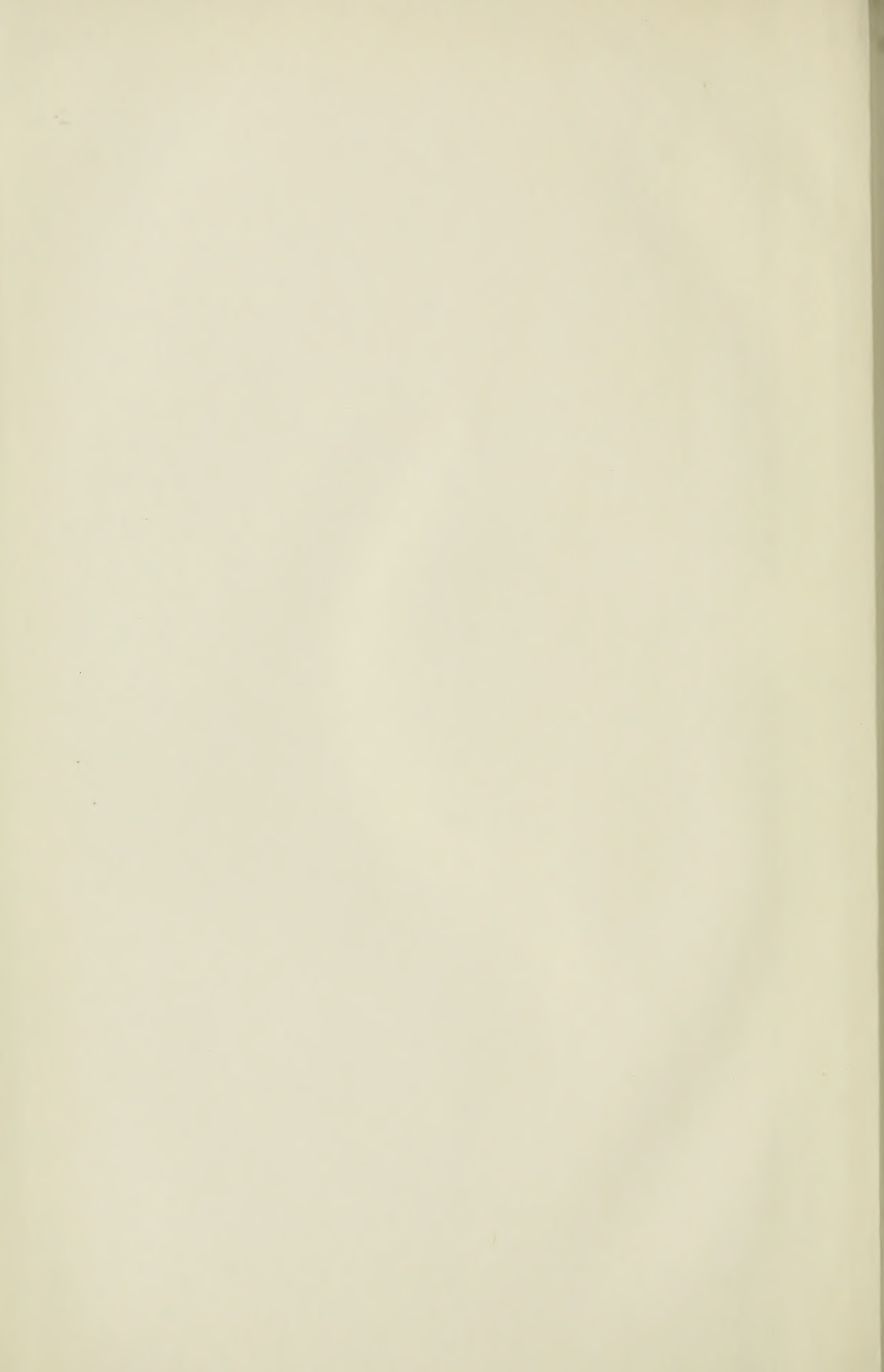
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